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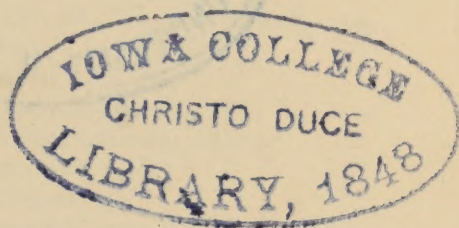




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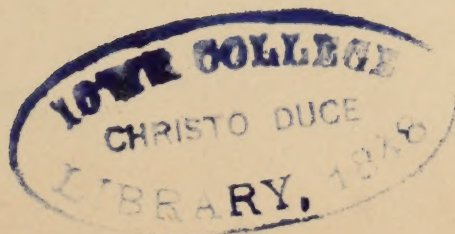
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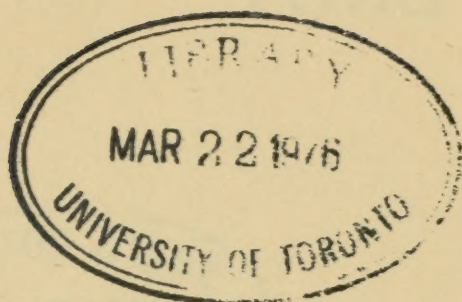
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## BLACK AND WHITE IN AFRICA

JOHN M. ROBERTSON

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### I.

IN the whole history of mankind, thus far, the relations of forward and backward races have subsisted without control from scientific thought. No science of such relations yet exists. In other words, the "crucible of the races" is still boiled by the elemental fires of animal instinct and calculating egoism, as in the time when the old empires of Asia and Egypt, Carthage and Rome, exploited peoples as peoples exploit nature. Latterly, indeed, there is more counterplay than anciently of the force of sympathy, though that was perhaps never wholly lacking. A Mesopotamian emperor would be apt to have some care for the well being of peoples embodied in his realm, and extortionate Roman governors were liable to impeachment in the public interest, in both republican and imperial days. In the modern world, however, the special machinery of Christian missions has set up a more constant pressure of sympathy with conquered races, from the Spanish American conquests onwards. Still, this counterplay of the forces of egoism and sympathy has never evolved a science of the subject in hand, and the pressures of philanthropy are obviously weak as against the steady energy of self-seeking among colonists, frontiersmen, and ruling castes of aliens of the "inferior" races.

Any one who has noted attentively the general tone of such classes towards the indigenes must have been struck by its primeval egoism. As

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the Aryans in ancient India spoke of the peoples they found there, as the Saxons regarded the Welsh, so do many westerners in North America speak of the remnants of redskins; and many colonists in Australia of the black fellows; and most colonists in South Africa of the Kaffirs. There is usually no willingness to believe that the question may be regarded from two sides. I have heard an Arizona man of fair culture, and otherwise of gentleman-like instincts and good sense, speak of the Comanches, without heat and with calm conviction, as worthy only to be treated like wolves. In New Zealand the reduction of the relation of white and Maori to a footing of constitutional politics has latterly modified conditions, but the testimony of Professor Gilbert Murray as to the feeling of white towards black in Australia holds good of contemporary times:—

“Not to speak of strange and unpleasant dealings with black women, I myself knew well one man who told me he had shot blacks at sight. I have met a man who boasted of having spilt poisoned meal along a road near a black fellows’ camp, in order to get rid of them like rats. My brother was the guest of a man in Queensland who showed him a particular bend of a river where he had once, as a jest, driven a black family, man, woman, and children, into the water among a shoal of crocodiles. My father has described to me his fruitless efforts to get men punished in New South Wales in old days for offering hospitality to blacks and giving them poisoned meat. I received, while first writing these notes, a newspaper from Perth, giving an account of the trial of some Coolgardie miners for beating to death with heavy bits of wood a black woman and boy who had been unable to show them the way. The bodies were found with the shoulder blades in shivers; and the judge observed that such cases were getting too common! These atrocities are not necessarily the work of isolated and extraordinary villains. Two of the men mentioned above were good men rather than bad. Nor have I mentioned the worst class of outrages.”<sup>1</sup>

Putting murderous outrages entirely aside, one finds that the everyday tone of colonists towards the colored races implies the normality of physical violence. And the tone is becoming more and more familiar in England. Last summer, walking on a Surrey road, downhill, I heard perforce a snatch of talk between two passing cyclists, who were slowly ascending. Said one, apparently retailing recent military experience in South Africa, “If it’s a Kaffir, he’ll take a good thrashing and be all the better for it, but if it’s a Cape boy, you may do him a serious injury.” The speaker had the air and accent of a “gentleman,” and he was thus laying down the rule that a beating so brutal as to be dangerous to a Hottentot may be administered usefully to the stronger Kaffir. This is a standing creed at the Cape. Sometimes the physical side of the doctrine is overlaid by the ethical, as in the teaching of Professor James

(1) Essay in *Liberalism and the Empire*, 1900, pp. 153-4.

Alexander Liebmann, late professor of modern languages and literature, Diocesan College, University of the Cape of Good Hope. This distinguished educationist is partly to be appreciated by his "axiom" concerning "the Boer,"—under which term he includes the Dutch of Cape Colony,—that "His idea of what is understood by Truth is best represented by the algebraic quantity known as  $x$ ."<sup>1</sup>

It is after this convincing account of the South African Dutch that the professor enters on a similar estimate of the native. After elaborating the thesis that in Christianizing a Kaffir "we have spoilt a good man," he sums up: "We have got to face the inevitable, to realize in our laws what we put into daily practice in the colony, namely, that there is an impassable gulf separating the black man from the white man, and that it is absurd as well as unjust to legislate alike for both. The European (including the "Boer," whose character we have seen appraised) is the master, the native, the servant. The Kaffir (recently defined as "a good man") is a child and should be treated as a child."<sup>2</sup> Which being interpreted by the colonial gentleman means the other prescription above noted.

## II.

One cannot well affect to hope that from the unfettered activities of such educationists as these, there can come a process of civilization. Whatever laws may be made for the black, there must be a law for the control of the white if he himself is not to become by far the worse "child" of the two. It is, therefore, with a deep regret that some of us have read in the recent "Romanes Lecture" of Professor Bryce this passage:—

"One must have lived among a weaker race in order to realize the kind of irritation which its defects produce in those who deal with it, and how temper and self-control are strained in resisting temptations to harsh or arbitrary action. It needs something more than the virtue of a philosopher,—it needs the tenderness of a saint to preserve the same courtesy and respect towards the members of a backward race as are naturally extended to equals."<sup>3</sup>

Inasmuch as no one asks the black burdened white to treat the black as his social equal, this appeal for sympathy with him in his trials seems over sensitive. One would but ask him to bear with the

(1) Lecture on *Briton, Boer, and Black*, in vol. ii. of *The British Empire Series* (British Africa), Kegan, Paul & Co., 1899, pp. 157-8.

(2) *Ib.*, pp. 162-5.

(3) *The Relations of the Advanced and the Backward Races of Mankind*, 1902, p. 40.



“defects” of that “good man,” the unconverted Kaffir, as the latter admittedly has to bear with the confessed “vices” of his master, which he is commonly said by the latter to acquire without the accompanying virtues. The “strain” on the master’s temper is oddly defined as occurring by way of resisting his temptations. In communities where there are no blacks, masters have from time immemorial had to endure the painful irritation caused them by the defects of their white menials; and while in ancient times they were constrained to relieve themselves by murderous brutalities towards slaves of their own race and color, and in later times by correcting with foot and fist and whip their fellow Christian lackeys, they have latterly been fain to stop short of physical assault, by reason of the simple presence of a law which would punish them, and of a public opinion which would callously permit the kicked lackey to kick back. This measure of restraint has been attained without any visible approach to sainthood in the employing class as a whole. And seeing that a number of educated women are known to have easily obtained all desirable service from African natives by the simple expedient of behaving to them as ladies normally behave, the persecuted male white might do worse than seek solace under his afflictions by behaving like what he commonly claims to be—a gentleman.

Such utterances as Professor Bryce’s add to the already immense difficulty of evoking a serious sense of responsibility towards the backward races throughout the British Empire. The tone of traveled Britons towards them is almost universally arrogant and heartless. It is still, indeed, often modulated by fits of effusive avowal of a burden bearing attitude towards the “lower” forms of the human species; but if recent American developments permit any augury, there is a fair prospect that for some time to come the general “Anglo-Saxon” attitude everywhere towards the less civilized races will become increasingly insolent because increasingly stimulated by the pride which comes of ignorance promoted to power. Increasing dominion for multitudes who do not increase in wisdom, lacking the science which brings humility, promises to increase insolence.

Of British India it is somewhat difficult to speak. I have sought elsewhere<sup>1</sup> to gather the facts as to the present tone of the bureaucracy, in comparison with that prevailing before the Mutiny, and the impression reached is not reassuring. The attitude of the ordinary civil servant is likely to be, broadly speaking, in terms of average national thought on the subject; and the average Anglo-Indian,—that is, the middle class man or

(1) Lecture on *The Duties of Empire*, in vol. v. of *The British Empire Series*, 1902.

woman of ordinary character and culture,—seems more often than not to be as hostile to any elevation of the Hindus as an average Natal colonist or journalist is to the most elementary education of the Zulus. And the general influence of the writings of Mr. Kipling, despite variations towards another spirit, is substantially of that cast. I know more of the colonial than of the Anglo-Indian temper, so it may suffice to say that both seem to me to be fairly typified in a sentence of a British officer of fifty years ago concerning a native tribe, “Like all savages, and, I might add, all Orientals, they require to be dealt with (*sic*) much more of the *fortiter in re* than the *suaviter in modo*.”<sup>1</sup> This is, in fact, the natural tone of the average white man among backward races. The officer just cited, Major-General Campbell, had been preceded in the district in question by another Scot, Macpherson, whose work in studying and peacefully putting down human sacrifices among the natives is well known to anthropologists. It was the work of a man full of the spirit of science, and consequently devoid of the pride of race. Macpherson is the exception, Campbell near the rule, I think, among Anglo-Indians, and among colonists of all races. Campbell’s thoughtlessness is revealed on the page next to that quoted, in the avowal that “the trivial act of taking a light for my cigar from the first Khond at hand, gained me many friends.” With that experience in mind, he could yet pen the other sentence.

It is with a large proportion of men of that cast in general control that the forward races are at present manipulating the backward, in South Africa. As the white control means substantially the state of compulsory peace among races which have hitherto been kept down in number by habitual wars, and the native races are in large measure immune to the diseases which destroy the whites in equatorial latitudes, the first outstanding result is a great increase in the numbers of the indigenes.<sup>2</sup> This holds good relatively even in South Africa, where the white race, especially as represented by the Dutch, can itself multiply freely. As matters now stand, the Dutch multiply more rapidly than the English, and the natives more rapidly than the Dutch. Hence the peculiar gravity, for the latter, of the situation set up in the recent war by the

(1) *Narrative of Thirteen Years’ Service Among the Wild Tribes of Khondistan*, 1864, p. 108.

(2) “Most authorities are agreed that, owing to the controlling force of the government, the abolition of wars and feuds, and the increased supply of food the (native) population is increasing rapidly. \* \* \* Wherever late returns are available they shew a marked increase of the native and colored population.”—*The Natives of South Africa*, edited by the S. A. Native Races Committee, 1901, p. 8.



wholesale arming of Kaffirs on the English side. The chances are that in the near future the common self-interest of Dutch and British will restore the former repressive attitude of whites towards blacks, whatever may be the later developments of Boer politics. But the native question in South Africa is only a section of the total race problem of the African continent, and in facing that we become almost hopelessly conscious of the immense heedlessness with which it is being created.

### III.

If we are to forecast African developments in terms solely of racial experience, there seems to be no near prospect of broadly good results, and much probability of enormous evil. The prevailing thought of the whites is to subordinate and exploit the blacks; the latter will, if the former can manage it, be kept servile, demoralized, subject to an extraneous and artificial civilization without being truly part of it, detached from their own line of evolution without being qualified for self-development on another. The dilemma is already clear in the British colonies. In Natal, on the one hand, the Zulu nation has been violently broken up into segments, the government substituting a kind of hybrid or semi-constitutional feudalism, under a necessarily fumbling control, for the monarchic system which the policy of Sir Bartle Frere destroyed. The pretext for that policy was that if the British did not crush the Zulu, the Zulus would crush the British state. On that principle, the British governor framed an ultimatum which he knew the Zulu king would not be allowed by his people to accept, and ere long the Zulu militarist monarchy was broken to fragments.

The problem is, what to do with the fragments. At peace, the people multiply; how are they to live? The whites have the best lands, and agriculture is the obvious and admittedly the best mode of life for the natives. Native labor is, indeed, wanted in the towns as well as in the Transvaal mines, but by common colonial consent the "town Kaffir" is a Kaffir spoiled. And there can be no question about the prospectlessness of the industrial Kaffir. White craftsmen will not work in the same shop with him, so that he is limited to unskilled, undignified, unrespected, ill rewarded labor. Those who care for his welfare, accordingly, desire to see him living with his tribe as an agriculturist—with, of course, such domestic industries as will further his civilization. But even Dutch farming in South Africa is still somewhat primitive, and if the native is to thrive in increasing numbers he must improve his agricultural methods. Here, then, is the line on which the forward race might do something for the backward. No limit can scientifically be set to the

assistance that *might* be given by the higher to the lower civilization, save the limits set by the evolutionary principle of continuity, and the law that character implicates will. It is pure fallacy to assume, as is sometimes done, that any backward race today must necessarily pass through all the eras of barbarism that have been lived through by the ancestors of the more advanced peoples. If, by example and precept, the higher race can pilot the lower past any of the reefs or whirlpools of social progress, no theory of "natural" processes should restrain them. No harm that can conceivably arise from such piloting can exceed the evil known to accompany the unpiloted evolution. But it is essential to success that there be piloting, and not subjugation. The lower race cannot be taken past the dangers of progress bound hand and foot, as Ulysses was fabled to take his mariners past the rocks of the sirens.

A healthy movement of civilization among the African races must be such as has taken place among other races who gradually acquired the culture of advanced neighbors without cutting the roots of their own. In most historic cases, indeed, culture passed from the forward to the backward race by a process of conquest, the backward being sometimes the conqueror, and sometimes the conquered. The Ionian Greeks and the Teutonic invaders of Italy were in the former case; the early Romans and the Anglo-Saxons of the eleventh century in the latter. In all of these instances, however, mixture of races was the condition of culture assimilation, and such mixture cannot now take place between black and white. The only chance for the former, therefore, lies in their being allowed to gain by contact with the higher civilization, somewhat as did the Scandinavians and other Teutons who were on the outer fringe of the mediæval, and for whom the church was the chief channel of culture influence. Will such contact then be disinterestedly allowed?

There has actually been some gain, so far, in the arrest of warfare under the *pax Britannica*. Provided only that this *pax* does not leave a number of native peoples to fall under the assault of fresh swarms from the interior, as the outlying peoples of the ancient Roman empire were overrun by Teutonic barbarism, the service done is inestimable. But how is the saving condition to be fulfilled? Only by allowing the native peoples to preserve polities of their own, whereunder they may be capable of intelligent self-defence, in the old way of a militia. And to secure this the governments of the civilized powers should carefully discountenance every survival of the old military castes.

The ancient primary civilizations, indeed, such as that of Egypt, were built up by conquest, the military class being made to serve as protectors of an exploited proletariat; but the system always left an empire



## 8 BLACK AND WHITE IN AFRICA

open to fresh conquest, for lack of stamina in the population at large. And military orders among African natives merely mean a multiplication of the chances of reversion to the era of chronic conquest and massacre, the rule of the "Chief of the Assegai."

Says one writer of much African experience :—

"If you ask me where is to be found the least thought and the greatest bestiality, I should point you to the *lets'haga* or common soldier of a military tribe. The Bushman who roams over the desert is a king in matters of the mind to this physical giant. I never knew a Bushman who was not thoughtful and well informed as to matters coming within his observation. \* \* \* The man who knows least and thinks least in all South Africa is the stalwart common soldier in a military tribe. Living in native barracks, his thoughts revolve on bloodshed as his work ; beef, beer, and brutishness as his pleasures."<sup>1</sup>

Of all men, in short, the barbarian is most brutalized by the life of sheer militarism; and to conduct any one tribe past that "artificial" stage by an indirect political pressure, in the interests of other tribes which have not fallen under it, is to give a lift to all. The Mashona, we know, were a peaceful and highly industrious community, who for lack of organization were conquered by the more military and much less civilized Matabele.<sup>2</sup> Given an organization which should combine the Mashona and Matabele in one agricultural people with a militia and a system of laws, the evil wrought by the unjustified British war which broke up the Matabele<sup>3</sup> may be overlaid by an evolution that will better both races.

### IV.

Certainly we aspire greatly in aspiring for such an evolution as this. It would mean that races which hitherto have been for ages backward should quietly pass into a state of relative political sanity at a rate never seen in the growth of the more advanced races. But if nothing of the kind is to be hoped for, there arises insistently the question, Why are the advanced races in Africa at all? Are they to count for *anything* in the upward evolution of the indigenes? Or is their function merely one of those alternatives: Reduction of the natives to a permanent state of relative degradation, the white man exploiting them as he does the

(1) Rev. John Mackenzie, late Deputy Commissioner for British Matabeleland, in vol. ii. of *The British Empire Series*, p. 176.

(2) *Ib.*, p. 192.

(3) As to this, see the cynical admissions of Captain Norris Newman, *Matabeleland and How We Got It*, 1895, pp. 60, 61, 77, 85, 161, 214-216.

animals; or a transient interference with the immemorial strifes of savagery, a chaining and drugging of the beast for a time, whereafter he is to lapse "back into the beast again"? Either way, the less said about the white man's burden the better. On either line he is less to the native than is the native to his kine. And this, in truth, is what he will be if he is guided by those sciolists of his tribe who tell him, in the fulness of their facile science, that the black and brown and yellow races are "doomed" because of not having yet reached the level of the upper strata of the whites. If science entered into average thinking on these matters, it would be unnecessary to point out that if all races alike have evolved, through tens of thousands of years, from a sub-simian stage, no race whatever can be *per se* incapable of indefinite further progress. But in view of what passes for human science with many educated people, it is necessary to reiterate that the question is solely one of conditions; that dissolution is constantly taking place in many stocks of the "higher" races, and that evolution is not simply possible but inevitable among the lower. Those, then, who take refuge from the sense of responsibility in a theorem of the unimprovableness of the black, are but putting a pseudo scientific form on the ancient superstition that the sons of Ham lay under a hereditary curse.

As a matter of fact, the total relation of the white to the colored races is not yet reducible to either of the two functions,—the fatal or the futile,—above specified. As aforesaid, the prevailing idea of the whites is to exploit the natives, but even as between whites the instinct of exploitation is partially controlled by religion, and a good deal by law, so is it, in less degree, between white and black. The best side of missionary enterprise is its tendency to enlist a pastoral sympathy for the convert as a fellow worshipper, in resistance to the normal colonist's desire for his subjection, and there can be little doubt that much of the current lay denunciation of missions,—e.g., the self-confuting declamation of Professor Liebmann,—is a mere expression of the latter appetite. Whatever may be done in some regions by missionaries in the way of industrially exploiting natives, it remains a historic fact that elsewhere they have in some measure taught him letters and handicrafts. At the same time they have to a certain extent, by scientific rather than by religious teaching, freed him of superstitions which terrified and fettered him.<sup>1</sup> All this, in turn, is nearly pure gain; the counter teaching being, when any of it is really absorbed (which does not happen to the extent the missionaries are

(1) See an interesting account of this species of "Aufklärung" in the Rev. James Macdonald's *Light in Africa*, 1890, pp. 47-48.



apt to suppose <sup>1)</sup> in the main of a higher order of supernaturalism. A fear, not quite without grounds, is sometimes expressed, that the rapid removal of old credences may leave the native without any customary foundation for moral notions,<sup>2</sup> but against that risk is to be set the very evil character of much of the old structure, and the fact that the missionary teaching in overthrowing the old sanctions necessarily sets up new,—cannot, indeed, do the first save by way of the second. And this holds good of the most advanced teaching that comes in the native's way; for instance, that given to the Zulus by the great and good Bishop Colenso, who quietly taught his flock to see in the story of the ark a fairy tale.<sup>3</sup>

Here, then, is a real culture influence, as potent in its kind as any that can be traced in the early history of civilization. But it is thus far straitly limited—limited on the one hand, by the direct resistance of colonists to the aim of educating the natives, and on the other, by native perception of this resistance, and of the chasm between missionary preaching and colonial practice. And the same limiting forces tell against the operation of European law, in so far as it has been intermittently and unsystematically brought to bear upon native life in Africa. Broadly speaking, it has vacillated between an entirely revolutionary treatment of the machinery of native law and a hardly less destructive system of wholesale reprisals wherever native law fails to yield prompt justice to whites.

On the former line, for instance, the British government in Sierra Leone has first provoked rebellion by levying an exasperating hut tax (the impost declared by Miss Kingsley to be the one above all others that revolts the native's sense of justice) and then has so suppressed the rising that "there is now nothing indigenous, no laws, no land tenure,"<sup>4</sup> while an enormous debt is saddled upon the so-called colony, the cost of reducing it to this hopeful state of things. On the other line, the Chartered Company has repeatedly taken vengeance on entire communities for failing to redress at once a wrong done by one or more of its members. Thus we read of a whole kraal being burnt with its granaries, and its pots smashed, for a theft of cattle not immediately followed by restoration.<sup>5</sup> Elsewhere the imperial authorities are no less given to showing

(1) See the very searching criticism of Miss Alice Werner in vol. ii. of *The British Empire Series*, pp. 254-6.

(2) Mr. Mackenzie gives a good instance of the moral efficacy of ancestor worship, *Ib.*, p. 156.

(3) Miss Werner, *Ib.*, p. 256.

(4) S. Gwynn, article on *England and the Black Races*, in *Fortnightly Review*, March, 1903, p. 452.

(5) Bent, *Ruined Cities of Mashonaland*, 3rd edition, p. 239.

that vengeance is theirs. In West Africa "punitive expedition follows punitive expedition. We have had a war in Sierra Leone, a war in Ashanti, two expeditions on the Gambia, a big expedition up the Cross River in Southern Nigeria, together with minor affrays; while in Northern Nigeria, which so far is producing no revenue and has not attracted a single merchant, \* \* \* one punitive expedition succeeds another at the interval of a few weeks at most."<sup>1</sup> For these expeditions there are bad excuses; for the methods of the Chartered Company there are none worth discussing. It might have been thought that a race whose own legal system is notorious for its grievous delays would have a little patience with a half civilized tribe whose life had been sharply disrupted by the white conquest. But brutal impatience is the prevailing note of the white regimen. Nothing is more familiar in British political rhetoric than the boast that Britons have shown their wisdom in slowly modifying their institutions, and never breaking suddenly and completely with the past in the reprehensible manner of the French. The boast and the aspersion, as it happens, are alike inaccurate, but at least the boasters might be expected to act towards the backward races in the spirit of their claim. On the contrary, however, we find them again and again plunging an African people into totally new political and juridical conditions, offering to barbarians the legal methods of a polity that has undergone centuries of gradual development in the light of classic jurisprudence and modern democratic experience.

That European methods in law may in certain circumstances have exemplary value is no more to be disputed than the relative service done by missions. In Cape Colony, for instance, the judicial ways of good magistrates attract the natives as against the capricious courses of their chiefs.<sup>2</sup> But British magistrates are placed properly only in true British colonies, substantially occupied by whites; and in districts ruled but not occupied by Britain the proper course is to develop helpfully the native jurisprudence, not to supersede it. This has always been recognized by the wisest commissioners,<sup>3</sup> and I wish I could here reproduce the narrative of one of these, as I heard it from his lips. The gist of it was that in his district the "king" had been so stripped of his lands and his powers by white land grabbers that he was fain to borrow half

(1) E. D. Morel, *Affairs of West Africa*, 1902, p. 19.

(2) *The Native Races of South Africa*, pp. 54, 59, 91, 230, 232.

(3) See Mr. E. D. Morel's *Affairs of West Africa*, pp. 87; note 114 and 274, as to the success of the late M. Ballay, the French governor of Guinea, who habitually proceeded on this principle.



sovereigns from anybody who would lend; while the people, badgered and bewildered by a legal machinery wholly outside their lives and experience, had reached a state of temper in which they stoned the carriage of the governor on one of his periodical progresses. A quiet reversion to evolutionary methods brought peace, quietness, and real progress, at the cost of a few extravagances of native procedure in which native opinion as yet saw nothing strange, and which may gradually be remedied as it is to be hoped the remaining absurdities of British jurisprudence will be.

## V.

These, then, are the open secrets of the true method of civilization of the backward races at the hands of the more civilized. To a certain extent they have been recognized in the older colonies, and the Zulu Code of Natal is an interesting structure of jurisprudence on a basis of native law. But even that does not properly develop the native faculty of self-government. The original "Kilkenny-cat" settlement by Lord Wolseley, a masterpiece of militarist impolicy, had to be swept aside almost as soon as it was set up; but there followed a series of administrative compromises, all marred by the imperialist bias, with the net result of a chaos of magistracies, passing irreconcilable judgments. Light came solely from a systematic return towards native practices in 1891, and the main fault of the code enacted in that year is that it does not sufficiently aim at the evocation of the natives' capacity to shape and modify their own laws in their own way. The Bantu peoples in general are law abiding and law loving in a high degree as is testified by the magistrates who know them best;<sup>1</sup> and that their laws are the result of a general racial evolution, and not of the institutions of law giving conquerors, is proved by their broad similarity among the different peoples.<sup>2</sup> There is, indeed, a danger that a complete restoration of the old institutions of chiefship, sometimes appealed to as a means of protecting the natives from undue meddling by the white authorities, may arrest the progress of the native races towards complete self-government. Hereditary chieftainship always involves the risk of segmentation through the multiplication of heirs. Thus the Mashonas were under one strong

(1) Eg., Mr. Scully, in *The Native Races of South Africa*, p. 47,—“The natives, in their tribal locations, are among the best behaved peoples in the world.”

(2) See the testimony of Mr. W. Y. Campbell, cited by Miss Colenso in her pamphlet, *The Present Position Among the Zulus*, 1893, pp. 7-8, and the *Report of the Cape Government Commission on Native Laws and Customs*, 1883, cited by her on pp. 9-10. Compare, also, Kropf, *Das Volk der Xosa-Kaffern*, 1889, p. 181, with chapter xxiii. of the Natal Zulu Code.

ruler in the time of Dos Santos, three hundred years ago; but segmentation began under his sons and has been carried on ever since, whence the collapse of the nation before the Matabele invasion.

Of this political danger the greatness may be measured by the history of the Saracens, whose civilization was everywhere disintegrated by their failure to rise above the primitive hereditary absolutism which made every Khalif's death a signal for civil war between his sons. Imperial Rome partially met the danger of strifes for the purple by the devices of adoption and devolution, and feudal Europe in a larger measure met it by the law of primogeniture. Neither of these devices can well be adopted by the native races of Africa, and the one hope for them in this regard seems to be that they may be led, rather than driven, so to develop their old system of checking the chief's laws by deliberative councils,<sup>1</sup> that the council shall at length supersede the chieftainship.

That, however, would seem to be the limit of useful interference with their political evolution. We can help them by delivering them from a cruel and paralyzing set of superstitions, and by barring those crusades of conquest which in the past have chronically cast down the slow growths of their civilization. And that they have been somewhat helped in the past by the intervention of higher civilizations would seem to be proved by the marked superiority of the life of the Mashonas, who appear clearly to have been in effectual contact with the Semitic gold-seekers of the ancient world. But unless we patiently enlist the wills of the natives in the process of their elevation, enabling them intelligently to accomplish their own progress, our intervention will avail little or nothing. If, for example and precept we substitute coercion, on the foolish theory that they are perpetual "children" and must on *that* absurd pretext be kept perpetually "servants," we shall perturb but vainly for a few more generations the long process of their evolution.

## VI.

"For a few more generations" is said advisedly. The most prominent question of the moment in South African policy is the scheming of the mine owning capitalists of Johannesburg to extort from the administration a law that shall force native labor into the mines. There could be no worse fate for the natives, seeing that (to say nothing of the profound demoralization found to follow on the compound system) underground quartz mining, extremely unhealthy for white miners, is for them a peculiarly deadly occupation, and one which at best in no way fits

(1) On this, compare Moffat, *Missionary Labors*, chapter xv.



them for the natural life of their race. The compulsion is argued for on a variety of pretexts; one being that in a spell of industrial barrack life a native can earn enough to "buy" three wives, who will thereafter support him in happy idleness; another being the counter plea that *at present* he thus lives in shameful idleness on his wives' labor, and ought to be forced to do something for himself. The two internecine arguments are advanced alternately, with the same hardy effrontery that affirms the generality of polygamy through a whole region. It is hardly necessary to point out that it can be made possible only by a wholesale destruction of the males,—which the mining life might, indeed, be guaranteed to accomplish. But the charge of habitual indolence against the males of the Bantu peoples is false; <sup>1</sup> they and the other natives are, in fact, almost the sole doers of hard work in South Africa, and the colonial disparagement of them is simply a notation of the fact that they want better pay than their employers want to give them.

The solution found for the problem of forced labor will serve to tell which way the moral wind blows as regards British treatment of the native races in Africa. The latest news is to the effect that the mines are deliberately being worked with white labor at high rates in order to move share-holders at home to call for either forced native or imported Chinese labor. We are here dealing with a spirit of exploitation which cares nothing for native well being, having no further ideal than that of the most rapid possible extraction of gold from the Rand. And this very speed of exploitation will soon alter the conditions of the problem at that point; for when the gold is worked down to the lowest paying point the Johannesburg population will go as it came. And the thin colonist population of Rhodesia, being drawn by the same lure, will similarly pass away. Given such a withdrawal of British folk, South Africa will tend to become more and more Dutch,—for a time. But there is a northward point beyond which the white man cannot propagate his species, and among the Dutch as among other European races there is slowly coming into play a rising standard of comfort. As population increases, the farms grow smaller, and as South Africa is in the main an agriculturally poor country, the smaller farms yield in general a poor living. Already in parts of Cape Colony Kaffirs are working farms which Dutchmen have

(1) Compare Macdonald, *Light in Africa*, pp. 137-8; Mackenzie, vol. ii. of *The British Empire Series*, p. 192; Fox-Bourne, same vol., pp. 207, 215; Liebmann, same vol., p. 147; Miss Werner, same vol., p. 249. "Statistics prove the natives, and more especially the Fingoes, to be by far the most industrious people in South Africa. In fact, the native supports the whole economic fabric on his despised and dusky back." —W. S. Scully, *Native Races*, p. 46.

given up. And as the Dutch come more and more into the knowledge of the possibilities of the rest of the earth, it is calculable that they, too, will ultimately begin to withdraw from a land where the natives are multiplying, and where they are best able to thrive.

The only alternative would seem to be a driving of the main mass of natives northwards, and there again the many European protectorates,—assuming them still to subsist,—would react. And yet the native problem would endure, for still there would be southern need for native labor—at the coast, on the farms, in the inland towns, everywhere. In Natal, the whites must have both Kaffirs and coolies, Africans and Hindus; at Cape Town the colored population tends to out-number the white. Thus do we always return to the old issue,—is the native to be forever in subjection? In Cape Colony he has a vote. Will it be withdrawn in the spirit in which it is withheld in Natal? The most liberal politicians hesitate to answer, anxiously counting heads. Should the vote be withdrawn, despite the generally good use made of it,—should the signal thus be given in Cape Colony for a general relapse to the policy of degrading the native, there will no longer be much room for doubt that those are right who say that the best fate for the native races is to come universally within the pale of Islam.

That Mohammedanism has so far done much more to elevate and civilize native tribes in Africa than has been accomplished under Christianity, is a hardly disputable proposition.<sup>1</sup> The main item *per contra* is the slave-trade, still conducted by Arabs. But it is an error to say that this stands for a religious sanction given to the traffic by Islam. On the contrary, it gives much less religious sanction to slavery than used to be drawn from the Bible by the slave-holders of the United States; and Thomson was emphatic in his assertion that wherever the natives embrace Islam the slave-trade ceases, the raiders taking captive only non-believers. Thus the complete Mohammedanization of the native races would mean the extinction of slavery, which has never yet been accomplished by Christian policy, and at the same time the probable casting out of the drink evil, which the Christian nations have introduced.

It is of little avail to say, as against all this, that “Islam has no future.” For that matter, Islam in its turn may perfectly well accept in time the lessons of democratic civilization. Decadence and progress are alike possible under any religious creed, now as in the past. But whether

(1) Compare Morel, *Affairs of West Africa*, pp. 211-214; Fox-Bourne, in vol. ii. of *The British Empire Series*, p. 200; Miss Kingsley in same volume, p. 375; R. G. Corbet, in vol. v. of same series, pp. 534-538, and Canon Taylor and Mr. Joseph Thomson, as there cited.



or not Islam becomes regenerate politically, it is clear that it does hold out a future to the African, as compared with any pseudo Christian polity which would merely humiliate him. Islam offers the immense advantage of a blending of the backward race with one of a higher but not utterly alien cast, as against the hopeless gulf of separation between black and white. Under Islam, the native gains in self-respect, the Arab treating him as a fellow creature; under reactionary European rule he loses self-respect, being treated as an unimprovable lower species. And even if Islam should still be unable to transcend the old fatality of political absolutism, that is not an evil for the native, relatively, to a racial absolutism which dooms him to eternal helotry.

It lies, then, with the white races to show whether they can so far master the elements of inter-racial social science and morals as to give the millions of the dark skinned peoples of Africa a better life, in virtue of more progressive political conditions, than has already been created among large masses of them in eastern and central Africa by the propaganda of Islam. At present, the Moslem faith is gaining ground far more rapidly than the Christian, and this not by violence but by peaceful propaganda.<sup>1</sup> Broadly speaking, an ultimate Mohammedanizing of Africa, which should leave it wholly a land of the brown skinned, seems as conceivable as any other evolution. But it is hard to believe that all the pride and promise of the European occupation is to end in a surrender of the principle of progress, at European hands, to the instincts of ignorant egoism which, once definitely dominant, will surely work the disappearance of European civilization from the African continent. And so one is fain to hope that science and righteousness may yet win the day, and that at length the forward races will be found progressive enough to aid the others with the wisdom of sympathy.

(1) Morel, as cited, pp. 219-222.

# THE NATURAL HISTORY OF WAR

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THE largest gift of modern science is in the ample and rationalizing perspectives it affords. Our ancestors had to take the world as they found it, making the best they could of the immediate good and evil which they found there; charging all of its greater problems to an inscrutable providence whose doings they could faithfully accept. Now the same good faith requires us to look into the verifications of our modern learning to see how our blessings and curses are alike the product of the series of events which have brought us here. If we fail to see the explanation, we know full well that our lack of knowledge is not due to any limits set by the divine will upon our understanding, but to the failure of our efforts to find the way to it. Beginning with the interpretation of the physical part of the earth and of the celestial bodies, this modern view of the universe has been extended until it begins to include mankind. We no longer look upon ourselves in the manner of our forefathers as creatures instantly bidden to our place in the realm. We see that momentary as are our individual lives they are essentially as old as the continents and seas; that all we are, think, or do is, or is done, because of our history.

New as is this mode of regarding man, it has already done more than all the speculations of philosophy to explain his nature. As the direct creation of an infinite beneficence, he was in his mixture of good and evil utterly inexplicable. As the child of the lower life, on his long and difficult way to a higher plane of existence, his entangled nature, though still a riddle, is evidently one that may be hopefully studied by those devices of science which have shown us how very many imperfections of man's body are but the remnants of utilities among the beasts whence he came. The method which has explained the existence of that nefarious appendix of the intestine, the origin of the club foot, of the cleft palate, and a host of like afflictions is now guiding us to an understanding of our moral deficiency. We see that in our efforts to rise we drag a lengthening chain where each link was forged in the life of lower man or that of the brutes whence they came.

All the baser passions and motives of men that contend against his advance towards a higher moral and social station, prove on inquiry to have had their origin in the brutal stages of his history, when the life which in time was to be human was still in the shape of the beasts. This



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is more easily to be traced in the simpler emotions, such as rage, fear, greed, and lust, but as we shall see, it is also evident in those of a more completed nature, such as lead men to war. Nowhere else, indeed, in all the wonderful tangle of human nature can we so well divine how our ancient residence in brutes and brutal men has fixed in us qualities which contend against our better modern part. An analysis of this motive of combat shows how those mental relicts of antiquity, surviving as do the like inheritances in our bodies, serve to qualify or annul the work of the nobler impulses.

To see how fixed is the motive of combat in the inheritance of man, it needs to be clearly understood that every organic species has gained its place in the world by a process of contention. In the plants and lowlier animals the ground is won by a dumb insistence, by a mechanical bearing down or pushing aside of other kinds that contend with it for a place in the world. As soon, however, as the beings attain, on the ascending scale, to the station where the will begins to guide action, we find that the battle for the chances of life becomes more intense and better ordered. Each individual of the kind wins its needed food, its desired mates, or its safety from enemies by war-like activities. The opportunity of living, and of handing on its qualities to descendants, depends upon the vigor with which the conflict is waged. From the point of view of our own morality this perspective of endless strife is unpleasant, but it is in the highest measure instructive, for it shows us the very foundations of our nature in the ancient hell of war, out of which man under the guidance of his true prophets is slowly finding his way.

It is impossible in the present condition of our knowledge, to trace with any approach to accuracy the succession of beings through which the life of man passed on its way from the lowest vitalized forms to its present estate. We have, however, to reckon that in this succession there were species most likely exceeding one hundred thousand in number. Though we cannot reconstruct the great procession of our ancestors, we can, from a relatively late yet remote stage in the ongoing, discern about what their shapes were, and make some tolerably accurate determinations as to their habits. We can, in a word, determine about the conditions in which the qualities which were to be the birthright of the primitive man were nurtured, if not originated.

The lowliest and most ancient creatures which we may fairly presume to have been the ancestors of our kind, belonged to a group of pouched mammals, the kinsmen in rather near degree of our opossum. They were small animals, not larger than the domesticated cat, probably dwellers in trees; subsisting as the shape of their teeth indicates on hard shelled

insects, such as beetles. The nature of their food and that of the living forms most nearly related to them, such as the *microlestes* of Australia, shows us pretty clearly that they were by no means the despots of the Triassic time, but as inoffensive as any creature could well be in a world where the life was won by offending the neighbor. From this, the earliest known of the suck giving animals, the main line of the succession which led to man probably continued to abide in the branches of the forests. This is shown by the persistence of the long limbs, with the fingers and toes and the bones that connect them with the limbs, so arranged that they serve for grasping the boughs rather than for moving over the surface of the earth or rending the bodies of their prey.

After the earliest pouched mammals came a long series made up of species of which we have yet found no monuments among the fossils. Of these we may well believe that there were hundreds, if not thousands, of distinct kinds before we attained the level of the group commonly called the lemurs,—the lowest of the monkeys.

That these as yet unknown stages of passage were also arboreal is well indicated by the fact that the limbs and feet of the higher forms retain those features which fit them for life amid the boughs, and which would have made their ancestors entirely unsuited to dwelling on the ground. So, too, the character of the teeth and what is known of the habits of the existing lemurs show that the original insect diet had been extended so that the creatures were fruit eaters as well. Most interesting of all these inferences is that in this evolution from the early marsupial to the monkeys, there is little or no evidence that the creatures were ever to any considerable extent specialized for combat, certainly not so after the manner of beasts of prey. Their claws are relatively weak and not built for effective rending; the like is indicated by their jaws and teeth, which were evidently shaped almost altogether for feeding and not mainly, as in the carnivora, for weapons. They have, it is true, those canine or eye teeth which are the marks of the lethal habit among mammals, but these instruments are not strongly developed and probably served effectively only in the combats between the males of the species.

Even before the grade of the lowest existing monkeys was attained, an interesting variation was wrought out which pretty clearly indicates the trending of our ancestors towards a habit of life in which combat was of less importance than it was in earlier times, or than it continued to be among the forms that dwelt upon the ground. The ancient claws with which the extremities were armed for attack and defence, from a stage far below that of the lowest mammal, underwent a change by which it is converted into the human-like nail. Though this alteration may seem



at first sight of no great meaning, it is really most significant. The claw served primarily for fighting and in an incidental way to aid in clinging to the bark of the trunk or branches of trees which were too large to be grasped. It was altered to the flat, thin nail in order to support the broad, sensitive pads of the extremities by means of which the precious instrument of touch we have in our finger tips was made possible. It is, indeed, a beautiful instance in which the grosser needs of militancy give place to the higher service of intelligence. The institution of the nail may fairly be taken as the first clear sign that the series of arboreal mammals through which man came, was destined to win its way upward to its great accomplishment. From the main stem of the mammalian life, which was evidently developed and continued in the upper portion of the tropical forests, there came in succession many branches, leading to a great variety of forms modified to fit other than arboreal conditions. The carnivora, the cats, bears, and their kindred have departed not very far from the ancestral climbing habit, retaining in varied measure that way of life. The solid and cloven footed forms have left it altogether. From these groups that became adapted to life on the ground, other and more far-reaching changes in habits and structures have led to the aquatic creatures such as the seals and whales. But while on many different lines of variation the mammals became reconciled to the environment of the ground, the under earth, or the water, only one group, the bats, found its way to the fields of the air.

It is a noteworthy fact that all those groups of mammals which betook themselves to the surface of the earth, except those of such small size that their only chance of safety was in flight, soon became provided with habits and instruments especially devised for combat: rending claws or teeth, horns in endless variety, hoofs to pierce as a spear or smite as effectively as a mace,—an arsenal of weapons that indicates how very intense is the struggle in the realm of the fields, where a great variety of species are crowded together. On the other hand, the arboreal species in the ages in which they have dwelt amid the branches, have, as before noted, developed no parts which serve lethal purposes.

The lack of all specialized weapons in the arboreal species through which came the succession that led through the monkeys to man, and especially the ancient alteration, above noted, of the claws to finger nails, show very clearly that these creatures were in some degree protected from the more brutal struggle for place and safety which the larger and lower dwelling beasts had to meet. All we observe of the habits of monkeys, from the lemurs to the man-like apes, supports the conclusion that they are, and always have been, for their size, the least militant of mammals.

It is evident that their conditions of life favor a peaceful habit; their food being limited to fruits, seeds, and insects, does not lead to predatory habits. The rather scanty nature of the food supply which even the most prolific forests afford and their slow increase hinder the development of the species to anything like the numbers which the ordinary herbivora may attain, so that they are not forced to undertake wide-ranging migrations. Moreover, the conditions of life in the trees make any creature especially fitted thereto essentially safe from the assaults of predaceous animals which have been modified for life on the ground. There was, we may be sure, much fighting among the males and between rival tribes and species, but this stream of forest life was evidently far less tumultuous than those which coursed over the ground.

Those who have read the popular accounts of the gorilla are likely to cite the reputation of this great ape as evidence that the monkeys, however the conditions of their development have made for peace, have the essential qualities of the tiger. The most serious charges against the character of this unpleasant brute are evidently untrustworthy. That the males are likely to resent the invasion of their haunts by men is true, as is the fact that they may assail the intruder much after the manner of the dominant biped. Their readiness to defend their families is not to be counted as a mark of degradation. Left to themselves they are far more peaceable than most wild brutes of like strength. Moreover, they are not in any sense beasts of prey, for they subsist on fruits. It is also to be noted that the gorilla, though evidently not in the direct ancestry of man, is one of the larger apes which has adopted the habit of abiding much on the ground, and has thus been brought into associations which have tended to develop his militant qualities. He is exposed as are none of the other simians to the attacks of large predaceous forms, and has of necessity developed the fighting habit.

We have yet to learn when, where, and by just what steps, the passage from the man-like apes to man was made. It is eminently probable that the transition took place in the early part of the Tertiary age, some hundreds of thousands, possibly some million years ago; that it occurred in some of the existing, or now submerged, lands about the Indian Ocean, and that the first creature fairly to be called human was of rather small size, about as hairy as a monkey, with a dark skin, and a countenance by no means prepossessing. It may be accepted as certain that the last of our ancestors to be classed with the brutes did not belong in the species of any of the existing apes. The kinship of this momentous unknown was rather with the chimpanzees than with the gorillas, but rather widely away from either. It was remote from the baboons, which is somewhat



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to be regretted, for the species of that sprightly group have well made bodies, and haply have lost the appendix of the intestine. Therefore, had our way lain through that group of monkeys we should have been spared one of the most serious defects of our anatomy. Whatever were the features of the species which transferred to us the vast harvest of prehuman experience with life, it is clear that the transmission included a body very ill-fitted for combat, and habits of mind that had been less turned towards fighting than was the case with most large beasts. As compared with hundreds of other militant species, the frame of the primitive man was very feeble, being for the rough uses of war, weight for weight, perhaps not a tenth part as serviceable as that of the tiger.

The mental quality which came to man from the arboreal ancestors who had his life in keeping for many million years, clearly bore the same inoffensive stamp as the frame he inherited from them. Though fighting was, as among existing monkeys, common enough, it was of a mild type; there was certainly no inclination to slaughter bred of ancient experience. Timidity, leading them to seek safety in flight, and a craftiness in their dealing with the hostile part of their environment, were in this regard the store which the experience of generations innumerable had bred in their minds and bodies. It is, in a word, clear that except for influences which have come upon our kind since it entered on its human estate, they would have been no more bloodthirsty than are the hosts of other vegetarian species. The question is, Can we find the conditions which have in the human period served to bring about this change in the nature of man?

In endeavoring to account for the evident change in the nature of man which has added to an original, herbivorous, peaceful nature the slaying motive of the carnivora, we should in the first place note the fact that when he abandoned the ancient arboreal life for that on the ground, he left a sheltered place for an arena where he had to overcome a host of powerful animals. This he had to do by means of weapons he invented and by developing a measure of valor which was not demanded in his ancient station. Both these evolutions must have been greatly fostered by the process of natural selection, for the tribes most adept in shaping and using arms, and most valiant, would have had the best chance of surviving and transmitting their qualities to like successful progeny.

It may also be fairly supposed that this use of arms for defence against predatory beasts would soon have brought about two other important changes in the habits of the new made men. All through the series of arboreal mammals, though the subsistence was essentially on fruits and seeds, they appear to have been in some measure carnivorous, eating insects and perhaps other small animals as well as the eggs of birds.

Abandoning the life in the trees, they were, to a great extent, deprived of their ancestral diet and were led by their needs and their use of arms to depend on animals for food. This transition of habit must have been rather suddenly brought about; its consequences were great, for the passage from hunting beasts to the chase of his fellow men was slight and easily made. Thus, one of the first effects of the change of station of our series from the trees to the ground was to convert our ancestors into predatory creatures, and to bring about an alteration in the qualities of the mind so that their motives should fit the new mode of life.

What we see of the monkeys, in general, what, indeed, we may note of all arboreal forms, shows us that timidity is characteristic of the group. The boughs are no place for fighting, but afford excellent opportunities for flight, so that the act of fleeing and the fear that impels thereto were well impressed in our life when it passed to the estate of man. As soon, however, as man came to dwell on the ground his chance of protection by flight was very much reduced; he had to betake himself to fighting for his protection. He had, above all, to contend against that timidity which was his unhappy birthright,—a motive which had served him well in his lower estate, but could no longer bring him safety. It is rather more in the long struggle with his fears than in the small share of valor he has attained that we may find the explanation of the war-like motive.

Recognizing at once how strong is the instinctive sense of fear in his nature and the danger which the impulse brought to him, man even in his primitive estate was led to regard courage in battle as the noblest of all motives. Every possible effort was made to stimulate bravery, for whoever could so much as put on the manner of it was sure to find himself welcome in the fearing crowd. As literature comes to embody the aspirations of men the martial hero has the first right in song and story. His place is with the gods. From the beginning we have an endless repetition of this pathetic story of endless fearing along with the endless prayer for its counterpart,—the saving valor. Even the most courageous knew their timorousness and strove to protect themselves against the inevitable quality of their inheritance by supporting in themselves and among their fellows this ideal of the warrior, who alone is conceived as beyond the control of fear.

There can be no question that in the early tribal state of men the culture and worship of valor had a profound and on the whole beneficial influence upon our kind. So long as the societies were small and not domiciled by agriculture, the struggles between them led by a process of natural selection to the survival of those which most effectively developed the war-like motive. Low as we must regard this motive, as compared



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with those developed in the civilized state, it represented among primitive men the first ideal to be instituted. As between two groups of primitive savages that which has the warrior motive in the largest measure may safely be reckoned as the most capable of advancement, for all ongoing depends upon a capacity to contend against inherited ills. At this stage, while natural selection was operating to determine which groups of men were best fitted to advance their kind, warfare had a use that passed when it no longer served to sweep away the vanquished, and give their place in the world to the victors.

So long as war was an agent of natural selection, and there was a survival of the tribes that were the most valiant and the most skilful in the use of arms, it served the same rude purpose as like struggles in the lower life. It left the strongest in possession of the field. As soon, however, as the tribal stage is passed, when in place of the little social unit that may be readily swept away we have the larger enduring state, such as may suffer from war, but if vanquished is not swept away, all or nearly all the possible benefits arising from these contentions disappear, and the action, though selective, leads not to advancement, but to the degradation of man. To find the proof of this important proposition, we must briefly note the ways in which continued warfare affects the population of a civilized people.

In a modern state only a portion of the folk are selected for the uses of war. The greater number of the males are retained in their ordinary occupations. The choice for the army falls on the best of the generation, the more vigorous and the abler minded being chosen for this service. When it comes to active campaigns the better of these selected men, those richest in the sense of duty, are the most likely to be slain. In general terms, it may be said that the dead on any great battlefield are the better part of those who came upon the ground. In such a society,—maintaining warfare for a few centuries, sending the more valiant and forthgoing of its youths to death without a chance to transmit their qualities to children,—we have a very perfect system of selection, but a system that makes for the decay of the society's strength, and even more surely for the extinction of its valor. A like method applied to lions would soon breed a coward race.

It should be said that the degrading effect of war upon the valiant motives and the energy of a people in some measure occurs in tribal warfare. There, too, it is the bravest and most dutiful who are most apt to die. But in the primitive conditions of tribal war there is no deliberate choosing of the unmarried youths for the sacrifice; it is shared by all who can bear arms. Therefore the inverse selectional effect is less consider-

able than it is in the so-called civilized warfare, which, from the point of view of biologic science, is the most degrading of all the ills that have ever cursed humanity. Although war between savage tribes tends, though in a much less degree than between civilized states, to destroy the best seed of their peoples, it has, as before remarked, a certain profitable selectional quality in that it tends to sweep away the weaker societies. In the modern system of warfare a nation, however much addicted to war, however often beaten, remains, it may be for centuries, to continue the process of weakening its stock until its debilitated folk are so lowered in vitality that they become innocuous.

If we look over the existing peoples of Europe, we see in certain of them what may be well taken as instances of the effect of long continued and destructive wars of the modern civilized type. Thus in Italy, once the seat of a most vigorous and truly martial population, we find a measure of debilitation which can in no other wise be well accounted for except by the destruction of its strength through nearly two thousand years of this selection process, which has plucked out the brave and strong, leaving the weaker elements to continue the race. The like appears to be the case in France, the loss in vital power, marked as well in the lack of increase of the population and in the quality of its armies, finds its simplest explanation in the fact that its best life has gone to its campaigns and battles, the poorer being chosen to breed. In these states something of the decay may be attributed to the celibacy of the clergy and to the celibate orders, but these particular evils tend rather to lower the general intellectual and moral quality of the folk than to lessen its reproductive and militant powers.

The evils of the military system, so characteristic of the states of continental Europe, are not limited to those due to the battlefield; they are owing in no small measure to the separation of the abler bodied and abler minded portion of the young men from the society in which they belong, a separation which normally continues for two or three years, and includes the period when they ought to be adjusting themselves to the tasks and duties of life; when they should be learning their trades, marrying, and, in general, forming those relations with their fellows which are the basis of all citizenly success. In considering this side of the military evil, we have to remember that the essence of a sound state is that it is a cradle for its youth. It exists for and by the means that breed its children, trains them to be citizens, and finds them their fit place for profitable activities. The system of war by checking the rate of increase and at the same time lowering its quality, by lessening the care that can be given to education and by hindering the adjustment of the rising



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generations to their work, strikes at the very root of the states which support it. Against the evils due to the many losses of war, even against the premature death which it entails, it may be possible to set certain advantages, some gross and some of the finer sort. It gives the victor, mayhap, a wider field of traffic; it gives to those who bravely win or lose the memory of devotion. But against the degradations of quality in a state these gains of pelf or honor have no counterbalancing value.

The judgment against war is so complete that it is hardly worth the while of writer or reader to spend much time even in summing up its iniquities. The question before us is how to lend this judgment of reason the weight which will enable it to bear down the ancient and instinctive emotions. To see the measure of the difficulty that is here to be encountered, let us suppose that we could submit to the people of the United States the question whether it would be well to have a great war, begun, say, at the end of the present year. It is safe to assume that only a few fools and knaves would view this proposition with other feelings than indignant horror; surely not one in a thousand of our people would vote for it. Let us suppose, however, that after a few years of idle bickering with a foreign state over actions half understood and concerning conditions really beyond our understanding, some inflaming accident like the destruction of the "Maine" should occur; beyond a peradventure, this eminently christianized folk would rush to war as they did in the year of folly, 1898. In this second polling, the real Christians and sages who dared to make their protests against the popular clamor for battle would be even as few as those who in cold blood would elect the evil. It is very clear that the need is not for judgment against war, but for some means by which this judgment can be given a chance to dominate our baser emotional inheritances.

Looking at the problem in the manner above suggested, it seems clear that in a campaign against war we may expect advantageously to operate on two different lines from widely separated bases. The one having for its object a reduction of the forces that make for such contending; the other with the aim of bearing down the hosts of passion by the insistent pressure of the better ordered reason. Putting simile aside, the question is how we may work to lessen this quality of men which leads them to the insanity of war, and at the same time to make them more sensible to their own sober judgments. To attain these ends we evidently need to labor long and patiently; to some, indeed, success seems hopeless. That there is sound reason for hopefulness is indicated by the state of man's inheritances. It has already been noted that man in the greater part of his history, for all the mammalian part of it until he

entered on his higher state as man, led an exceptionally peaceful life. What we call his inhuman quality has been instilled into him in his human time, because the experience of that time enforced a furious contending with his kindred and the brutes such as had never cursed him in his lower station. It is, however, evident that this training in war is a relatively late feature in the education of our species. Most fortunately there is back of it ages of peaceful development when the foundations of quality were laid and developed in a manner of life that led away from war.

At first sight it may seem as if the suggestion that the nature of the human mind is, in any considerable measure, due to its experience in its prehuman stages of development was so far fetched that it deserved no consideration; but if we consider that the body of man retains essentially the proportions and adjustments of its parts which were given to it by ages of arboreal life, so that in frame we are only slightly improved apes, we are better prepared to see that the intellect necessarily linked therewith may be expected likewise to retain the ancient stamp. If any one will approach this question in an unprejudiced manner, he will be pretty sure to arrive at the conclusion that so far as the emotions of men are concerned,—and it is with emotions we have to deal,—the origin is to be found in the prehuman rather than in the later life, and further, that those motives or the modifications thereof which have been developed by the environment of our species are much less fixed and ineradicable than those of earlier and deeper founding. That because the bloodthirstiness of man is not affirmed by very ancient experience we may hope, in time, to subdue, if not to eradicate it.

In the present state of our knowledge as to the conditions of inheritance, it is not safe to assume that any part of man, physical or mental, can by any process of education be expelled. The evidence is rather in favor of the supposition that all the features which have been acquired by the ancient processes of construction must, unless they be bred out by selection, remain as a part of our inherited store. Fortunately, however, for the possibilities of man these imperishable products of the past may be dealt with in either of two ways; they may be rendered practically inert through disuse or they may, in the case of the emotions, be by habit so combined with other and more serviceable elements that they lose their pernicious character. It is, indeed, the part of education to effect just such alterations of that primitive man,—the child.

In seeking to remedy the present state of mind concerning war, the first effort should be to make it clear that this, like other evils, is a survival from an old and beastly condition of our species. If we can make it clear to men that war, so far from being a dignified and noble form of



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action, one peculiarly worthy of the citizen of an advanced commonwealth, is, in fact, a return to motives fit in the brutes, but eminently unfit in our bettered station, we shall have a foundation on which to build for peace. Already there is a public judgment against war greater than in any other age. Unfortunately, however, the private conversation and public utterance of reasonable people is counteracted by the vast body of literature which is far more effective in shaping the minds of men; our songs, tales, and histories glorify war. Even the Bible, for the reason that the militant Old Testament lends its war cries to drown the gospel of peace, is like the rest of this body of tradition in its effects. We cannot hope to separate ourselves from our literary traditions, but their evil effects may be lessened, in part, by works such as histories, which will give war its fit place with other plagues, and in part by making it clear to all that the worship of this ugly idol belongs with other idolatries of the past,—fit enough in its time, but no more suited to our own than are other pagan sacrifices.

It is evident that in our school-books, particularly in those of the new type which relate to the position and duties of the citizen, we are to find the most effective means of building a deep seated public opinion concerning war. By such works, especially if they are combined with a well written account of the grievous effects of great contests in this and other countries, we may hope to provide an antidote for the love of military prowess which our literature instils into our youth. It will be well, moreover, to have our school children learn that the instinctive fear they feel when in danger is common to all, and does not in the least degree indicate that they are cowardly; that in most people it is so far overcome by the sense of duty that they act heroically when the occasion for such action arises. In this way we may hope to overcome the pernicious notion that the valiant man or woman is a wonderful and worshipful exception in the natural order of timid folk. The truth being, as all who have observed themselves and others when in peril know, that, with very rare exceptions, all sensible people are about equally accessible to fear, and that the happily rare creature, the utter coward, is likely to owe his shame to the lack of enough imagination to digest the worst of his fright before he comes under fire.

It should be distinctly understood that in this effort to clear away the spectacular quality from the deeds of the warrior the aim is to bring these deeds into the larger class of heroic actions where men give their all for the service of their fellow men. No reasonable person would seek to lessen the moral value of the truly heroic deeds done in war; but it needs gravely to be seen that the quality of this sacrifice made in

the rage of battle is less high than that of the lifeboat man who gives himself for the chance that he may save a shipwrecked crew ; of the fireman who, in his task of rescue, often faces peril as grave as the soldier knows ; of the physician, who, after the manner of his kind, calmly deals with pestilence, knowing that his chance of survival is far less than he would have in the fiercest kind of war ; or of the grey nun who enters the lazar house with the leper to tend him till he dies. These modern heroic shapes, because they were not in the olden time, lack the accumulated and inherited glamour belonging to those who slay. But justice as well as a true poetic sense will help us to set them beside the heroes of war, to see that those who give their lives to helping men leave us the nobler heritage. Here, as in all work of moral advancement, a true classification will help to clear away the confusion that besets this understanding as to the nature and place of valor.

The problems before the advocate of peace may be briefly stated as follows. In his ancestral series, man, for by far the greater part of his history, perhaps for ninety-nine out of a hundred parts of the time, or of the species he has passed through, was in a succession of animals of an unusually peaceable nature. In passing to the human estate he necessarily became a warrior. During the primitive tribal condition of the species war may have been profitable for the reason that it served to extinguish the weaker social groups and to give the leadership of the race to the stronger varieties. Whatever profit there may have been in this process of selection, it was lost as soon as the communities attained the position of states which, though vanquished, were not swept away. Thereafter, war has had from the point of view of natural selection malign results that serve only to weaken the people who engage in it. It is not to be denied that these results are, under certain conditions, preferable to those to be attained by peace, as death may be better than slaving, but the holiest of wars leads inevitably to the degradation of the folk who wage it, to a decay marked in the quality of the people and of their institutional life.

As to the possibilities of contending against those great emotional movements which lead to war, we find reason to hope for success from the fact that in the inheritances which are gathered in man, those which make for peace are more ancient and may be reckoned as more constant than those that move to strife. Morally, the species may be defined as normally peaceable but curiously affected by occasional gusts of fury. The problem is to check these outbreaks in their individual and associated occurrences. So far, religion has proved incompetent to do this work. It evidently serves to limit the outbreaks of the slaying humor between persons, but it appears to be incompetent to affect any considerable body



of folk. Nor has public condemnation of war in times of peace, however general, served this purpose. The only hopeful method of attack is by systematic education. If we teach our youths what war really is, that it is a shameful relic of savagery, that it thwarts the highest purpose of the commonwealth which is to insure life and happiness to its citizens, if we show them that the excessive praise given to the military hero is his in such measure because, in the old days, the nobler heroisms of peace were unknown, we may hope to breed up permanently civilized men.

Something may be done to arrest wars by diplomatic devices, such as the convention at The Hague proposed, by which time may be given for the rage of a people to be stilled. It is, however, evident that the only effective way to make head against the evil is by systematic training which shall lead men effectively to set their higher against their lower qualities. This good work has already been effected with men of the higher culture. Though here and there we find rare instances where enlargement appears not to have made them more humane, there can be no doubt that if the question of war and peace were submitted to the "saving remnant" of our citizens peace would reign between all civilized peoples. Afterwards, and for all foreseeable time, we should need the policeman, but the ancient iniquity of battle would pass from the earth. Therefore in proportion as we enlarge the perspectives of men, we may hope to diminish the evil of war.

# MARRIAGE IN FRANCE

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FOR a long time past it has been said that the conjugal union is the pivot of human society. Marriage is the great affair of man here below, and, so to speak, the conclusion of his life, whereas his birth and his death are only its two extreme terms, two terms that hardly vary at all in whatever country one may observe them, while the medial term presents itself, on the contrary, in very different forms. Hence results in the main the difference in manners and in character between nations. So far as this chapter is concerned there is a complete opposition between France and America. And as we point out this contrast we do not undertake to decide on what side of the Atlantic the conjugal laws are the better; we shall show rather of what forms of thought or of life they seem to be the expression or the result.

## I.

Marriage in America and in the Anglo-Saxon countries, generally speaking, aspires to be for individuals the consecration of love, a point of view easy to grasp and one that seems at the same time the most logical and the most noble. In France it is above all a great social institution, in which matters of convention ordinarily occupy the chief place, while at the same time reciprocal affection which has hardly any chance to show itself until after the ceremony, seems, nevertheless, to be in no way impaired. This is a matter of profound astonishment for the few foreigners who really penetrate into the inner life of French families, or even of those who read without well understanding it the admirable novel of Balzac, "*Memoires de deux jeunes Mariées.*" That book shows that society takes as its supreme law the sacrificing of woman to the family, without leaving to her any other compensation than maternity,—a sublime compensation which must suffice for her since love, the passion of love, can be in marriage only an accident upon which it is impossible to count,—an accident which is often a perilous one. The law of nature and the code are hostile to each other, says Balzac.

The drawbacks as well as the advantages in a French marriage spring, in fact, from our civil code, that code in virtue of which we remain, whatever our form of government may be, a republic or an empire, under the iron hand of Napoleon.

Translated by C. H. C. Wright of Harvard University.

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It is he who has made marriage bristle with difficulties and precautions that did not exist to the same degree in the time of the old French "Customs" anterior to him. Marriage was then entirely in the hands of the church which had control over the civil acts. It called for much less formality than nowadays although the authority of relatives regulated it in a still more absolute way. This preponderating intervention of the family is the result of our Latin traditions and of our Catholic education. And upon these influences the formation of national character,—which has as its consequence such or such social conditions,—greatly depends. Formerly the union of two children who had hardly reached the age of marriage was decided by their respective families. It was a question of an alliance advantageous from the point of view of rank, of fortune, and of convenience, "*les convenances*," a great French word. By these latter we mean agreement of age, situation, temperament, moral principles, intellect, health, education, and habits,—a young man received from his father counsels that were quite similar to commands; a young girl came out of the convent which had sheltered her childhood, leaving her in almost complete ignorance of life, and the marriage state as it was understood in the eighteenth century.

At the same period in the New World, the Pilgrim wives were participating by their constancy and their energy in the foundation of a new republic. A number of them had sacrificed social advantages of which people were elsewhere so jealous to considerations in which liberty of conscience played as large a part as conjugal devotion; they had won from the very start their place as citizens, and indisputable claims to those rights of woman kind which they later were to be the first to demand, without opposition on the part of the other sex. This especially is to be noted. However vigorous the old French "Customs" may have been, and, moreover, they varied as the American laws do today, that is, according to the several provinces which formed an almost inextricable confusion,—and they were, as a result of this very absence of cohesion, much less implacable than the laws that took their place. France, at the moment when, by the Revolution, she broke with her past, wanted a uniform code. This code was elaborated under the eyes of Napoleon and by his direction. It has since been imposed upon all the countries that his conquests united to France, that is, in a great part of Europe, and it still constitutes there, in a form modified according to the needs and ideas of each nation, the bases of legislation,—a fact which does honor to the powerful genius that conceived it, deriving his inspiration from the Roman Law. But, taking into account the guiding will responsible for this code, one cannot expect to find in it

sentimental considerations with respect to the lot of woman kind. The wife is given over, bound hand and foot, to the authority of the husband, although, on the other hand, energetic precautions are taken to sacrifice the liberty of the latter to the safety of the family, that is to say, of the children, even though these are as yet unborn. The reproach which many foreign moralists have directed against our civil code is that it deprives the citizen of the management of himself, that it does not sufficiently respect the rights of the individual.

Let us see what are the conditions which it establishes with regard to marriage.

A Frenchman, of whatever age, cannot marry without the formal consent of his parents, or, if they be lacking, of his grandparents, in case these latter are still alive. We see what the result of such a requirement is, "It expropriates liberty of conscience for public purposes." The saying is that of a commentator of Ruskin and a friend of Browning, J. Milsand, who, although a Frenchman, had with regard to many of the institutions of his country the opinions of an Englishman, which is explained by the fact that he was a Protestant. A French Protestant is never more than half a Frenchman, just as an English Catholic is always imperfectly British. No one has shown more eloquence and indignation, both in speech and with the pen in his hands, than did J. Milsand when dealing with a requirement which, perfectly natural when it is a question of a minor, becomes dangerous at the age when a man should be the master of his heart as he is of his property. For, after all, however sacred filial duty may be, a man may still have other duties. The law leaves him free to bind himself by promises, to ruin, perhaps, the life of a young girl; why does it not allow him to make amends, independent of another's will in an affair concerning which he is not really obliged to consult any one? Doubtless, French legislators have judged that chief regard should be had for the solidarity existing between those who bear the same name, and that, as the marriage of one of the members of a family concerns the interests of the family as a whole, the law should make it its purpose to safeguard them; inferiority of rank and of fortune, mediocrity of reputation are in part just so many defects that redound to the detriment of all connections. But it is none the less true that the precautions taken to prevent this evil constitute a flagrant sacrifice of the individual to society, of which the family is only an epitome. The very real danger that the French maiden would run, if left too free and without any defence against what is called elsewhere "breach of promise," is the most serious reason that one can give for the surveillance exercised over her and for the excessive reserve



which long regulated her relations with young people of the other sex.

The resistance of the relatives may, nevertheless, be overcome by the formality of respectful summons (*"sommations respectueuses"*). In this case, the young man or woman resolved to take extreme measures calls with much formal deference for the advice of his or her parents, at the same time making known to them his or her intention to contract marriage. But for this purpose the young person must have attained the legal age, which is twenty-one years for her and twenty-five years for him. The papers in this case, which are alleged to be of a respectful nature and are really quite the contrary, since a breach is made in the authority of the parents, must be presented by a notary and two witnesses. If the notary can register only a refusal, the same steps must be taken twice again, unless the son has reached the age of thirty years or the daughter the age of twenty-five, in which case the serving of a single set of papers suffices. A month later the marriage may be celebrated without the consent of the parents, but in a country where people esteem more the wisdom of the elders than the imprudence of youth, a certain amount of disfavor attaches itself, as one may well conceive, to such a procedure and it is resorted to but seldom.

When the customary consent has been granted there must follow certain other formalities of which the purpose is to give to the projected marriage all necessary publicity, so that everybody may be informed that a new family is about to be constituted in the state, and that interested outsiders may thereby be challenged to oppose the marriage in case there is any valid objection to it. In this way there can hardly be an error with regard to the identity of the persons to be married, and the terrible mistake of which the celebrated painter, Angelica Kauffmann, was a victim in England, when, thinking that she was marrying a great lord, the Comte de Hora, she became the wife of a valet, would be more impossible in France than anywhere else. The bans or publications must be posted at the town hall (*"mairie"*) of the place in which each of the future sponsors has been living for more than six months previously at least. These notices remain posted at the door from one Sunday to the next. They contain the names, surnames, professions, and domiciles of the persons to be married. In the church, the priest also announces the bans from the pulpit. The officer of the civil state cannot proceed to the celebration of the marriage until after the second publication, and he must have in his hands, first, the certificates of birth of the contracting parties, so as to be sure that they have reached the age of puberty, that is, eighteen years for a man, and fifteen years for a woman; second, documents signifying the consent of the persons under whose power each of them is placed,

or certificates of the death of these persons. One may imagine that these formalities so difficult to be fulfilled often discourage the poor. The result among the people is naturally enough the multiplication of illegitimate births, in spite of the zeal that benevolent societies employ in rendering aid in such matters.

## II.

But we have not yet taken up an important point, which is the marriage contract. The contract regulates the conjugal partnership and fixes the rights of the husband and wife as to their property. Its terms are left to the free will of the contracting parties on the condition that they make no agreement infringing the rights of the marital power conferred upon the husband. It is he who administers the dowry of his wife, the dowry being the property which the wife brings to the husband to defray the expenses of the marriage. This custom of a dowry has been more or less introduced into countries along with wealth and luxury and especially into monarchies where it is a matter of importance that one should be able to maintain his rank.

Among the various arrangements that present themselves to the choice of the parties, joint ownership of property ("*communauté de biens*"), which is the most frequent and the only arrangement really national, individual ownership of property ("*séparation de biens*"), and the dotal system ("*régime dotal*"), one would expect to find at least two that would leave the wife free to dispose of her personal property, but such is not the case. Individual ownership of property does not permit the wife to alienate her real estate without the authorization of her husband, and the constituting of a marriage dowry leaves to the husband the administration of the dowry, which, moreover, cannot be alienated. Masculine supremacy is imposed everywhere and always; the married woman is a minor in a situation much inferior in this respect to that of the spinster, who keeps the power of disposing freely of what she possesses. There is no more redoubtable document than the marriage contract, for the code, in order to make sure of the immutability of matrimonial agreements, requires them to be determined irrevocably before the celebration of the ceremony by the exchange of this document in the presence of a notary. Afterwards there can be no appeal from it.

When no contract exists, as happens in the case of people having no property, the married couple are subjected to a legal form of commonalty of possession which puts the wife, whatever work she may herself do, absolutely at the mercy of her husband. All the property, both real and personal, acquired after the marriage, is in the hands of the lord and master.



He alone has the administration of their common property, he has the power to sell it, to alienate it, and to mortgage it, without the consent of his wife. Only quite recently have efforts been made to secure legislation enabling the married woman who works to dispose of her wages.

The conjugal commonalty of possession can be broken, it is true, by the establishment of a condition of individual ownership ("séparation de biens"). When a husband administers unwisely the patrimony of the family, he may be deprived of a right which he abuses, and be reduced to dissipating only his own fortune.

But whatever system has been stipulated in the marriage contract, the law forbids the husband, even though he should desire to do so, to abrogate the property rights belonging to him as head of the pecuniary partnership established between the couple. Any clause obliging the husband to ask of his wife permission to administer the property would be null, being regarded as an impediment of the marital dignity. *The wife under the power of her husband* is in every respect in a state of subjection which allows her no initiative except in the matter of making her will, because this act is without effect until after the marriage has been dissolved by death.

When the contract is signed, the officer of the civil state proceeds, on the day chosen by the parties, to their marriage, the "mairie," in the presence of four witnesses, that is to say, the mayor, the magistrate of the district, reads to the couple the title of the law concerning the respective rights and duties of husband and wife and receives from each of them the declaration that they wish to take each other for husband and wife. Then he pronounces the words, "In the name of the law I unite you in marriage." A certificate of this act is given at once. The marriage certificate is the legal title of the husband and wife and is in itself complete proof of the marriage. Even at the period when the civil marriage and the religious marriage were performed at the same time by the ministry of the priest, the civil contract was already entirely distinct from the sacrament. The consent of the father and mother is implied in the very act of the celebration of the marriage, if they are present. Otherwise, it must be certified in an authentic official document. If there be any dissent between the father and the mother, the consent of the father suffices. All the slightest formalities relative to the *civil act* are of so great importance that failure to observe them would make the marriage null and void. But, nevertheless, in the eyes of the great majority of persons,—women at least,—the ceremony at the "mairie," the only one of which the law takes account, is hardly more than a formality regulating the civil status of the couple, just as the contract

signed in the presence of the notary regulates their pecuniary status. It generally takes place without any display and without the issuing of invitations to friends.

The marriage in the church, on the contrary, is surrounded by all possible pomp and splendor. After all, the union in the presence of God is the only one upon which Catholics lay stress, and the great majority of the French are Catholic, a fact to be constantly borne in mind. For them, marriage is a sacrament consecrating an indissoluble union. That is why the recent inauguration of divorce, whatever else may be thought of it, has this deplorable feature of bringing people who are unhappily married to sacrifice their expressed convictions to their happiness, and—we here pass over all matters of dogma—of weakening character as much as this can be done by what is called sin, if passion becomes stronger than what is after all thought to be duty.

Of course marriage has the rank of a sacrament only if it is celebrated according to the laws and ceremonies of the church, which shows itself very rigorous in the case of mixed marriages, blessing them only when the husband and wife promise to have their children brought up in the Catholic faith.

Obviously, all that has just been said is not applicable to Protestants who are French; but, nevertheless, for Protestants as well as for Catholics, a purely civil marriage is equivalent to a grave irregularity, closing society, so-called, to the couples that have contracted it. Perhaps we may attribute in part the discredit of one or another political personage and the resistance offered to a government reputed to be a free-thinking one, with tendencies toward atheism, to certain civil marriages. They run counter to the general opinion, especially that of women, which, from the social point of view,—the essential point of view in France,—has always great weight.

### III.

We have seen that for a Frenchman formed by a Latin education, paternal government is always an article of faith, and the influence exercised by the civil code is not of a kind to destroy this inherited disposition, the weakening of which is, however, noticeable. What remains of it would still greatly astonish the Americans who are so disposed to leave to age as few prerogatives as possible. Let us admit that it is wrong to subject entirely the affairs of the heart of young people to the jurisdiction of their elders; but at the same time we must realize the danger that threatens American civilization, a danger arising from the family itself, from domestic life. For this is what statistics show us: three hundred



and twenty-eight thousand, seven hundred and sixteen cases of divorce in twenty years; ten thousand, nine hundred and sixty-two in a single year, 1870; and since then the figure has been growing to alarming proportions. Is it not a sign that certain American marriages are, to say the least, imprudent, and that it would be better to consult the experience of the parents before rushing into them? Perhaps a few obstacles placed by the family in the way of inclinations that may be illusory, since young people are quick to take the first troubles of the heart for the signs of an enduring love, perhaps a few additional formalities would prevent great misfortunes. Some one may make to me the objection that these misfortunes would be of but slight importance in comparison with the disgust and the sadness of marriages contracted by command, so to speak, in which affection plays no part; but as was prettily said not long ago in my presence by an old-fashioned French girl to an American lady who was attacking marriages contracted according to convention, "The consoling thing is, Madam, that when we marry according to convention we always think that we are making a love match." This random sally is sufficient to prove that our artless girls are not fools. The matrimonial problems are carried on with more tact than is supposed, and if a system is to be appreciated by its results, the French system of marriage is as good as any other. It would be absurd to judge it by the testimony of novels whose customary theme is adultery, as though "the second choice were in reality the first," the only one really implying consent. Except in a certain idle and corrupt social circle which exists in all the countries of the world, at New York or at London as at Paris, the French woman is generally a faithful wife and an excellent mother. On this point the reader must refer to the testimony of a very clear sighted Englishman, who for many years has lived in the region of Burgundy and Nivernais, P. G. Hamerton. Perhaps the certificate of good morals that he grants us will be considered as worth more than that which we accord to ourselves. Speaking of provincial ladies of whom he has known so many, he says:—

"It is hardly possible to avoid a feeling of indignation at the absurd calumnies which are received by foreigners concerning them. There can be but one excuse for such calumnies, an impression produced by a certain class of literature and intensified by international ill will. The reader who cares to have just opinions will only believe the truth, if he simply takes it for granted that the virtue of the ordinary housekeeping French lady is no more questionable than that of his own mother and sisters. There are a few exceptions; so there are in England; the divorce court proves it."<sup>1</sup>

The difference is most accurately stated by Mr. Hamerton:—

"An excessive notion, on the French side, of propriety in the bringing up of

(1) P. G. Hamerton, *Round My House*.

young ladies, which has led respectable people to refine upon the original idea of what is necessary to the pure reputation of a virgin until at last they have arrived at that dangerous consummation, the realization of an ideal, which in a world like this is always sure to be punished by very serious practical inconvenience."

The complete innocence and even ignorance of the young girl flatters the somewhat Turkish tastes of the Frenchman in respect to marriage, and,—although an Englishman,—Mr. Hamerton is of the opinion that it is after all the surest way for a woman to become attached exclusively to the husband given to her.

But the wicked French novels—they certainly do not deal with the best of our sex, and the reason is easy to understand. A young girl supposed to have no personal experience of the world cannot be the proper heroine of any love story. On the other hand, the calm conjugal felicity of the majority of marriages, in which the wife is first of all a mother, is not of the kind to inspire the verve of the novelist, whose art is to live by passion. So, then, he seeks out examples of bitter and deep deception, of despairing revolt, of irremediable lapses from virtue, he seeks the exception, and, in the class and in the very circle in which Mr. Hamerton has seen "excellent wives, faithful, orderly, dutiful, contented, and economical," he finds,—it is his right,—a *Madame Bovary*.

#### IV.

All that I have said does not imply that I do not think it desirable to have a greater degree of liberty granted to French girls so as to give them an opportunity of getting acquainted with their future husbands. And this desire of mine will be realized only too quickly, that is to say, before my one other desire that I form first of all for profound changes in the marital training of our young people. Free companionship between the sexes will, in my opinion, be full of danger, if respect for woman and for all women is not at an early period inculcated into the Frenchman as it is into the American, if the feeling of responsibility is not at the same time developed in the French girl. Unfortunately, cosmopolitan habits are now amalgamating with Parisian manners, on the surface, without affecting the depths, and this produces most disagreeable anomalies. Since Paris and the fashionable watering towns and seaside places have adopted, still giving them their foreign names, the five o'clock teas and garden parties, games of tennis and of golf, there has resulted the familiar intercourse between young people that this sort of amusement carries with it. The bicycle especially brought them together. However, it is not clear thus far that much good has been produced by these new customs. Love marriage is still held in disrepute; while an English or



American girl would blush to marry otherwise than at the impulse of her own heart and as one ready to follow her husband to the end of the world, the French girl, on the contrary, even though she be somewhat emancipated, would feel a certain shame at seeming to be in love, and eight times out of ten she will make it a condition that she is not to be far removed from her family, with which she maintains tender and close relations, for it is an undeniable fact that the family is much more closely united in France than in America, just as it is much more hierarchical in its constitution. Nevertheless, the law of nature is in accord with that of the Gospel: "Thou shalt leave thy father and thy mother and follow thy husband." It is destined to triumph. Already there are mentioned, as exceptions, but without too great censure, young ladies who,—when marrying,—accept the exile with some cheerfulness. They have not had, perhaps, any choice! Men,—at least in large cities,—hesitate very much about getting married! While in America they often await impatiently the competency that will permit them to take a mate, at Paris they generally consider marriage as a means of bringing freedom to an end and they consent to it only with a sigh of regret. Society is so indulgent in regard to their escapades and so well organized for their pleasure! They oscillate between a "demi-monde,"—unknown everywhere else,—which, by its refinement, its elegance, and at times its culture, can, to their ruin, give them the delusion of love, and honorable relations with young women set free by marriage; for marriage permits the French woman to be brilliant and makes her an exquisite "*maîtresse de maison*," being for her what her *début* in society is for an American woman. Instead of the cortège of gallants lamenting the disappearance of a reigning belle, we have among us men who rejoice at the setting up of a new agreeable salon, where they may find the charm of good society when wearied of the bad. Under these conditions are run the risks of the lottery of marriage, and they complicate the difficulties of life in a country where people do not care to wear themselves out making money, and where they are more prone to enjoy their patrimony than they are to increase it by a great deal of effort. Marriageable young men,—and the obligatory military service is a contributory cause,—are, therefore, rather rare and that is why young girls make some concessions. As to hunting down confirmed old bachelors, neither they nor their mothers, to do them justice, stoop to that as yet, and this is a point of superiority that France has over England and America. In France the man alone does the hunting, and he even engages in poaching without sufficient prohibition on the part of the law. For this reason and during long generations, the

game remained crouched beneath the maternal wing, so much so that, at the ball, the only place where young people of the same social circle could meet, the maiden was brought back to her mother after each dance. Nowadays the surveillance is more lax; invitations are sent directly to girls by other girls; the young ladies are often authorized to bring escorts, their brothers or the friends of their brothers. All this, of course, at Paris; the provinces do not proceed so quickly, yet even they have advanced a good deal during the past twenty years.

The question of the dowry, however, remains the same. For the lack of one, how many charming girls are condemned to a celibacy which, until quite recently when new fields of activity have been opened to feminine talents, was without any compensation! As an offset to the stumbling block of the dowry, there is the right which it assures to the wife of giving her opinion, her deliberate vote, in matters that concern the family. In good households, the French woman is consulted much more than are her foreign sisters, about questions that seem to concern her least. It is not known how much the good administration of a fortune, which, however, the law gives her no right to touch, depends in France upon the wife. To such a degree is the wife the silent partner of the husband that, becoming a widow, she shows herself of a sudden capable to take the place of the head of the family, with an extraordinary authority and fitness. And if we pass from the woman of fashion to the shop-keeper's or the farmer's wife, how true it would often be to say that it is the wife who makes the success of the family!

## V.

Part of the foregoing is more directly applicable to the nineteenth century than to the twentieth in which "lycées" (high schools) for girls flourish instead of convents, while divorce laws are gaining ground. Before divorce was established in 1884, at the instigation of Mr. Naquet, all sorts of measures had been taken to render its decree as difficult as possible. Every one recalled the abuses to which it had led at the time of its inauguration in 1792, when, during the first two months, there were as many and later even more divorces than marriages in Paris.

This experiment proved so shocking that the government renewed it very cautiously, not allowing divorce by mutual consent. Recently a bill has been presented at the Chamber of Deputies, by two eminent writers, the Margueritte brothers, which proposes that divorce be granted on the request of either husband or wife. Marriage, should this bill pass, would become nothing more nor less than free love; the family would be done away with entirely.



Just here it is interesting to note that the dissolving of the marriage bond has become the favorite theme of modern novelists and playwrights, among which group Paul Hervieu has particularly distinguished himself. In one of his most important works, "*Les Tenailles*," he pictures a woman struggling against marital authority when it comes to the question of how her son shall be brought up. In "*La Loi de l'Homme*," we have again a woman in open rebellion against the outrageous law which deprives a mother of all right to oppose the marriage of her daughter once the father sanctions it, and, generally speaking, against a code which assigns to woman a second rank.

"*Deux Vies*," the last much talked of novel by Paul and Victor Margueritte, treats of the injustices which it would be easy to remedy by dissolving the marriage ties at the request of both husband and wife, or of merely one of the parties concerned. It is not the members of the upper class who apply for divorce in France, as they do in Italy, where the lower classes disapprove of it, and in England where it is shunned by the middle classes. In Paris divorce is favored by a certain free thinking "*bourgeoisie*." If the working people do not take more frequent advantage of the divorce, it is because proceedings of this kind are expensive, and that a laborer prefers to have direct recourse to the "*union libre*" without bothering over so much ceremony. I say "in Paris," expressly; throughout the rest of the country this movement has been very little followed, as it is contrary to the Catholic religion, which goes no further than the old "*séparation de corps*." This in all times has made it possible to throw off a chain which had become odious, not making it, however, permissible to acquire fresh rights to marry.

The majority of honorable women are aghast at the thought that while they are circulating in society on the arm of a second husband they may come upon his predecessor, still extant. But will such scruples last forever? Or is the divorce law destined to be of short duration like the one which sprung into being under the Revolution,—which was opposed by Napoleon, but who, nevertheless, himself made use of it,—and was finally abolished in 1816?

The future alone can decide this.

For the time being the family in France finds itself confronted as in America by a double peril; on the one hand, divorce which diminishes the dignity of marriage, and on the other hand, "*race suicide*" which can have consequences much more grave for us than for the United States where it is remedied by immigration. We can but hope for both countries a development of character and customs which, more than any civil laws, contribute to the superiority of a nation.

Then those coeducational schools which encourage a harmless intimacy between the sexes, will perhaps be established in France; the innocence of the young girl, becoming more enlightened, will be protected by the respect of the young man; love matches will no longer be the synonym for a foolish caprice; the parents, always listened to respectfully, will no longer meet with blind submission; divorce will then be merely a sad remedy applied in desperate cases, which will become more and more rare.

This will be the golden age.

And in the meantime, while France is adopting the best of the American customs and fitting them to her thousand-year-old traditions, America will renounce her borrowed European ambitions; those which too often result in the exchange of a large dowry for a title; the heiress of the merchant prince will no longer confer the millions gained in industry upon the young and gracious foreigner who in exchange makes her marquise or duchesse.

Let us add that, in spite of all the mutual modifications which are possible, there will exist for a long time yet, in these two nations, on the opposite sides of the ocean, decidedly different ways of looking at marriage and a hundred other things. Old civilizations are more complicated than new ones, and they have mysterious reasons for holding fast to their own social prejudices. America will learn this for herself in good time, though she has not the Latin heritage from which it takes the longest to shake free.

Latin civilizations are like the beautiful "French gardens," somewhat artificial in their architectural symmetry. Disorder does not become them. Compared to them the wilderness offers the irresistible charm of unmastered forces, of nature run wild. But, no matter what means one might take to force it, the Park of Versailles could never again become a wilderness.

Unless it is to be once for all destroyed, it is our duty to preserve its regular lines, its classic colonades.



# GREEK AND ROMAN COMEDY

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## I.

THE law of the theatre, as M. Brunetière has formulated it, is that the drama must deal with an exercise of the human will, and that, therefore, a struggle of some sort is an essential element in the pleasure we take in a play. A clear understanding of this law is helpful in any question of classification; for example, in the difficult attempt sharply to set off tragedy from melodrama, and comedy from farce. If the obstacle against which the will of the hero finally breaks itself is absolutely insurmountable, the Greek idea of fate, for example, the Christian decree of Providence, or the modern scientific doctrine of heredity, then we have tragedy pure and simple. If the obstacle is not absolutely insurmountable, being no more than the social law, something of man's own making, and, therefore, not finally inexorable, then we have the serious drama. If the obstacle is only the desire of another human being, then the result of the contention of these two characters is likely to give us a comedy. And if the obstacle is merely one of the minor conventions of society then we may have farce. But as there is no hard-and-fast line separating these several obstacles which the several heroes are struggling to overcome, so the different types of play may shade one into the other, until it is often difficult to declare the precise classification. Who shall say that the "Comedy of Errors" is not, in fact, essentially a farce? Or that the Elizabethan tragedy-of-blood is not essentially a melodrama?

Although the true dramatist cannot but conceive both the incidents of his play and its personages at the same moment, yet we are accustomed to consider tragedy and comedy nobler than melodrama and farce, because in the former the characters themselves seem to create the situations of the plot and to dominate its structure; whereas in the latter it is obvious rather that the situations have evoked the characters and that these are realized only in so far as the conduct of the story may cause them to reveal the characteristics thus called for. Comedy, then, appears to us as a humorous piece, the action of which is caused by the clash of character on character; and this is a definition which fits the "Misanthrope," the "Marriage of Figaro," the "School for Scandal," and the "Gendre de M. Poirier." In all these comedies the plot, the

action, the story, is the direct result of the influence of the several characters one on the other.

A consideration of the history of dramatic literature will show that comedy of this standard is very infrequent indeed, since the humorous piece is always tending either to stiffen into drama, as in "Froufrou," for example, or to relax into farce, as in the "Rivals." And satisfactory as the definition is on the whole, and useful as it is in aiding us to perceive clearly the true limitations of comedy, we must not insist upon applying it too severely or we shall find that we have erased from the list of the writers of comedy, the names of two of the greatest masters of stage-humor, Shakspeare and Aristophanes, from neither of whom have we a single comic play the action of which is caused solely by the clash of character on character. The delightful fantasies of Shakspeare fall into another class, which we may term romantic-comedy and in which we find the comic plot sustained and set off by a serious plot only artificially adjoined to it. The imaginative exuberance of Aristophanes displayed itself not in any form fairly to be called comedy but rather in what may be described as lyrical-burlesque.

## II.

Three of the most important phases of Greek tragedy are preserved for us in the extant dramas of Æschylus, of Sophocles, and of Euripides. Other tragic writers there were whose works are now lost forever; but these three were ever held to be the foremost and we are fortunate in having the finest of their plays. Three phases there were also in Greek comedy although less clearly distinguished; and here we have not been so lucky. To represent an early stage of its evolution, we have half a score of the lyrical-burlesques of Aristophanes, but only a single play of his survives even to suggest to us the kind of comic drama which was acceptable in a second period when other humorous playwrights rivaled him. The third epoch, illustrated by the noble name of Menander, can be but guessed at, since we have not the complete manuscript of even a single play. And yet an attempt to trace in outline the development of the Greek comic drama is not an altogether impossible task, despite our deficiency in illustrative examples.

Comedy seems to have sprung into being at the vintage festival of the Greek villagers, when all was jovial gaiety and jesting license in honor of Dionysus. "On public occasions," so a recent historian of the origin of art has reminded us, "the common mood, whether of joy or sorrow, is often communicated even to those who were originally



possessed by the opposite feeling; and so powerful is infection of excitement that a sober man will join in the antics of his drunken comrades—yielding to a drunkenness by induction.” And these seasons of contagious revelry were exactly suited to a development of the double desire of mankind for personation,—one man seeking to get outside of his own individuality, and to assume a character not his own, while another finds his satisfaction rather in the observation of this simulation, in being a sympathetic spectator when actions are represented not proper to the actor’s own character.

So it came to pass that there were companies of young fellows, often disguised grossly as beasts or birds, who broke out into riotous phallic dances, enjoyed equally by those who looked on and by those who took part. In time the dancers grouped themselves in rival bands, the leaders of which indulged in a give-and-take of banter and repartee, certainly vulgar and personal and probably as direct and artless as the chop-logic dialogues of the medieval quack-doctor and his jack-pudding, or of the modern ringmaster and circus-clown. The happy improvisations of this carnival spirit which happened to delight the crowd one year would surely be repeated the next year deliberately, perhaps only to evoke an unexpected retort with which it would thereafter be conjoined in what might prove to be the nucleus of a comic scene of some length. Thus a form would tend to crystalize, as the tradition was handed down from season to season, enriching itself constantly with the accretions of every venturesome jester. However frail this framework might be, it would be likely to contain a rough realization of the more obvious types of rural character; and almost from the beginning there would be abundant and irreverent parody of heroic legend and of religious myth. Then in time this incobate medley of ribald song and phallic dance and abusive repartee would come to feel the influence of the other dramatic form, the origin of which was quite as humble—it would come to feel the influence of tragedy as this had been organized at last with its chorus and its three actors. Indeed, the same native instinct which led the Greeks to regulate tragedy and to attach it to a festival of the state, would suggest sooner or later that comedy should also be adopted by the city. And this is what happened in time; although Greek comedy when taken over by the authorities was apparently far less advanced and far more archaic than Greek tragedy had been when first officially regulated. In the earlier dramatic poems of Æschylus we can see tragedy not yet developed out of the dithyramb and struggling to find its own form; and so in the earlier comedies of Aristophanes we can see not only a primitive but a very peculiar stage of the evolution of the comic drama.

## III.

Close as Æschylus with his dominating chorus sometimes seems to the earlier rustic lyric, Aristophanes is even closer. He is often so formless, his story is sometimes so straggling, his plot is so carelessly put together, that we are forced to the conclusion that the Greeks had not yet perceived the need in the comic drama for that unity which is so striking a characteristic of their greater tragedies. Owing to this slowness of the Greeks in evolving a type of pure comedy, as they had already evolved a type of pure tragedy, the works of Aristophanes impress us with their strangeness and their inequality. Aristophanes himself, as we see him in his plays, appears to us in three aspects, each of which is seemingly incompatible with either of the others.

First of all, he is indisputably one of the loftiest lyric poets of Greece, with a surpassing strength of wing for his imaginative flights and with a surprising sweep of vision when he soars on high. Secondly, he is the bitterest of satirists, abounding in scorching invective for his political opponents and never refraining from any violence, any malignity, or any unfair accusation that would help the cause he had at heart. Thirdly, he is a riotous and exuberant humorist, a forerunner of Rabelais, reveling in sheer fun for its own sake, heartily enjoying every laugh he could call forth from the spectators, and ready at any moment to descend to any depth to evoke it again. It is to his possession of these triple gifts that we may ascribe the variety of opinions in which Aristophanes has been held. The gifts themselves seem incongruous and discordant, and the result of their exercise in a single comic play is sometimes confusing. It is the privilege of great genius, as Voltaire maintained, and "above all of a great genius opening a new line, to have great faults."

What seem to us the faults of Aristophanes are partly due to his having opened a new line,—to the fact that comedy as he understood it, had not yet disentangled itself from the phallic dance out of which it had blossomed. On the modern stage, so we have been told, there are three kinds of dancing, the graceful, the ungraceful, and the disgraceful,—and there need be no doubt as to which adjective can best be applied to the comic chorus of the Greeks. There were not a few lapses into vulgarity on the part of the Attic audiences; and there was at times—as a historian of Greek literature has admitted—"a great deficiency in that elegance and chastity of taste" which we are wont to associate with the name of Athens.

Aristophanes is a lyrist in all his plays and a satirist also; but only intermittently is he a comic dramatist, concerned especially with the presentation of humorous characters immeshed in amusing complications.



He can be a comic dramatist when he chooses, full of ingenuity in the invention of droll situations; but he does not often choose,—preferring the satire of real individuals to the presentation of ideal characters. This satire of real individuals is so abundant in his plays that we may see in them the Greek equivalent to a collection of caricature cartoons from a modern comic newspaper. Like many modern caricaturists, Aristophanes is a bitter partisan, seeking rather to drive his point home than to be fair toward his unfortunate model. In most of his plays the victims of his invective are politicians; but sometimes he lays his scourge across the shoulders of a philosopher whose influence he dreads or of an author whose verses he detests. Thus in the “Clouds” it is Socrates who is held up to ridicule, and in the “Frogs” it is Euripides. Perhaps the “Frogs” is as typical of the lyrical-burlesques of Aristophanes as any other.

The play opens with the entrance into the circular orchestra of Dionysus and his slave Xanthias (personated by the first and second actors). As the patron of the theater Dionysus is saddened that there is now no good dramatist alive and he has determined to go down to Hades to bring back Euripides. For this perilous journey he has disguised himself as Herakles; and he has come to get the advice of that hero himself; and when he has knocked at one of the doors of the dressing-house at the back of the circular orchestra, there comes forth Herakles (the third actor) who tells him of the various ways of getting to the nether world. After the demigod has withdrawn, Xanthias complains of the weight of the bundles with which he is burdened. Just then a funeral procession passes before the dressing-house which formed a low background for the figures in the orchestra; and Dionysus tries in vain to get the bundles carried by the dead man (who was apparently played by a fourth actor)—and who refuses the unsatisfactory fee, saying, “I’d see myself alive first.”

Neither in the orchestra itself nor on the front of the dressing-house was there any attempt at scenery, although by the time of Aristophanes the dressing-house itself may have become a permanent erection, having a certain architectural dignity. But the Greek dramatist, tragic or comic, made no effort to realize to the eyes of the spectators the places where the action was supposed to happen; and as he did not particularize, they never gave a thought to mere locality. Thus the Athenian orchestra, like the stage of the Elizabethan theatre two thousand years later, was a neutral ground in which actions were exhibited and which might be here, there, and anywhere, as the plot required. Without any strain on the imagination, the orchestra which had been tacitly accepted as representing an open space in front of the abode of Herakles is immediately thereafter

assumed to represent the shores of the Styx. Charon (the third actor again) comes in rowing his boat,—and if we may snatch a suggestion from modern burlesque, it is quite possible that part of the joke here lay in the obvious make-believe of Charon's skiff, which was perhaps but a bottomless framework hung by a strap from his shoulders as he walked forward pretending to paddle.

Charon goes to the side of the orchestra where Dionysus and Xanthias are standing, and he allows the god to step into his boat but refuses to take the slave,—who thereupon agrees to rejoin his master by walking around. As Charon puts off with Dionysus, who pretends to help with the rowing, part of the chorus enter, dressed as frogs. These inhabitants of the sunless marsh hoarsely chant a characteristic lyric as Charon and Dionysus propel the boat through the midst of them. Then as the two voyagers arrive on the other side of the orchestra, the chorus of frogs croaks itself off. Dionysus pays his fare to Charon, who paddles off to the place whence he came,—probably from behind the dressing-house. Dionysus, left alone, calls for Xanthias, who runs around the outer circle of the orchestra to rejoin his master. And when the two are together again the orchestra thereafter is supposed to represent Hades, the underworld.

Frightened by the strange spectres he pretends to see, Dionysus appeals for protection to his own priest whose seat was among the spectators and always in the centre of the front row. In this daring unconventionality we may see an anticipation of the modern comedian who leans across the footlights to make fun of the leader of the musicians; just as the attire of Dionysus, doubtfully disguised as Herakles, had elements of humorous incongruity not unlike those observable in the funny man of today who wears a high hat when attired in a Roman toga.

Then to the sound of the flute, there revels into the orchestra the full chorus, impersonating votaries of Bacchus, happy shades of those who had been duly initiated into the mysteries. While the two visitors look on with humorous comment, the chorus circles in and out with song and dance. In the song a lofty lyric strain is broken into by topical jests, local hits, and personal allusions. In the dance there is a joyous parody of those who took part in the mystic orgies. At last Dionysus gets the chorus to tell him which is the gate of Pluto's realm; and he knocks at one of the doors of the dressing-house, declaring himself to be Herakles. Then the door flies open and out rushes the gate-keeper, Æacus (the third actor), who violently berates the sham Herakles for the misdeeds of the real demigod on his visit to Hades. Dionysus recoils in terror, and the gate-keeper goes to summon assistance.



Then the frightened Dionysus transfers his lion-skin and club to Xanthias, who is to masquerade as Herakles. But when a maid-servant of Proserpine's (the third actor again) appears to invite Herakles in to a sumptuous banquet, Dionysus insists upon taking back the emblems of the demigod,—only once more to yield them up swiftly when two eating-house keepers (the third and fourth actors) assail the false Herakles with bullying demands for damage done on the demigod's previous visit. Then the gate opens again and Æacus bids his aids seize the false Herakles, who protests his innocence, proffering his slave to be tortured in proof of his assertion. Thereupon Dionysus declares himself, but Xanthias maintains his claim, so Æacus has them flogged alternately to discover which is the god,—he being the one who will not feel the pain of the blows. Although they cry out, both stand the test so well that the puzzled Æacus takes them within for Pluto and Proserpine to decide which is truly the god.

The chorus, left alone, turns to the spectators and becomes the mouth-piece of the satiric dramatist, delivering what is called the *parabasis* and what is in fact a personal address of Aristophanes to his fellow-citizens assembled in the theatre,—an address not unlike a modern after-dinner speech on themes of the hour, now jocularly personal and now raising itself into genuine eloquence. In the modern drama there is nothing exactly corresponding to the *parabasis*, although it is sometimes like the topical song of a modern burlesque and sometimes like the prologue of Ben Jonson and Dryden, not prefixed to the play, however, but injected into the middle of it. Like these prologues often, and like the topical songs generally, the *parabasis* had nothing to do with the plot of the play.

When the *parabasis* is concluded, Æacus and Xanthias return, having fraternized as fellow-servants, delighting to spy on their masters. The noise of a quarrel is heard; and Æacus explains that this is Euripides disputing with Æschylus whose seat at table he wishes to usurp. Æacus further declares that as Dionysus is the patron of tragedy, Pluto intends to let the newcomer decide the dispute. The two slaves withdraw; and the chorus chants a lyric description of the coming contest.

Then Dionysus comes back with Æschylus (the second actor) and Euripides (the third actor); and we are made to see another characteristic feature of Aristophanic lyric-burlesque,—the *agon*, the dispute, which has almost the formality of a trial-at-law. Æschylus and Euripides set forth in turn their views of tragic art, with much satiric distortion of each other's theories, and with much comic perversion of each other's verses. There is incessant cut-and-thrust in the dialogue; and apparently there is also opportunity for frequent parody of the actors who had played the

parts from which quotations are made. There is frank burlesque in the use of scales by which the best lines of the opposing poets are weighed in turn; but Dionysus is still in doubt when Pluto (the fourth actor) enters to ask for his decision. Unable to make a choice on literary grounds, Dionysus asks the advice of the rival dramatists about the contemporary political conditions of Athens; and as he finds Æschylus to be the wiser counselor and the nobler, it is the elder poet that he resolves to take back with him to earth. Pluto, after authorizing the departure of Æschylus and after bidding the chorus to escort him triumphantly, withdraws with Euripides, delaying a moment to invite Dionysus to remain for a feast. Once more the chorus circles around; and then, accompanied by Æschylus, it trails out of the orchestra.

The "Frogs" is a delightful example of the lyrical-burlesque of Aristophanes, commingled of poetry and of personalities, frequent in parody, abundant in fun, and rich in artistic criticism,—but thin in plot and meager in dramatically humorous situations such as later comic dramatists have delighted to devise. It represents an early period of literature when the several species are as yet imperfectly differentiated; and it is obviously quite as lyric and as satiric as it is dramatic. The story is straggling and the structure is loose. Yet a lyrical-burlesque of this sort was exactly suited to performance at the Dionysiac festival, when the season was held to sanction every conceivable license and when the people of Athens were so conscious of their freedom that they were ready to laugh at jokes against themselves.

But as soon as the Athenians were shorn of their liberties then the play of this type became impossible. The tyrants would no longer tolerate it; and perhaps the people would no longer relish it. Personalities were prohibited and satire was pruned. The comic dramatist became cautious and hesitating; and he was forced to seek his theme in private life and not in public affairs. This was fatal to lyrical burlesque; but it hastened the development of a true comic drama. The plays of Aristophanes were the product of special conditions which have never been repeated; and this is why he stands in a class by himself; he is individual; he has had no imitators and no followers. Modern comedy owes nothing to his example; and even the comedy of Menander, which was evolved from the comedy of Aristophanes, seems to have speedily become something wholly dissimilar.

#### IV.

The comedy of Aristophanes was a medley of boisterous comic opera and of lofty lyric poetry, of vulgar ballet and of patriotic oratory, of



indecent farce and of pungent political satire, of acrobatic pantomime and of brilliant literary criticism, of cheap burlesque and of daringly imaginative fantasy. Obviously most of these elements have no necessary relation to the drama; and one by one they were eliminated. The political personalities had to go first, then the lyric poetry and the imaginative fantasy. The "Plutus" of Aristophanes himself seems to be a specimen of this uncertain transition stage; and in this we see the humorous poet sadly shorn of his exuberance. He is not content to deal with the commonplace of everyday life, and the theme he treats is really a fable or rather an apologue. Yet the absence of the more extravagant elements of his earlier lyrical-burlesques brings the later "Plutus" closer than these are to comedy as we now understand it.

In the course of a few years after Aristophanes, Greek comedy still further simplified itself. It gave up the *parabasis*, always an undramatic excrescence; and it surrendered the chorus, thus abandoning at once the ballet and the opera. It made up for the loss of these things by elaborating the more dramatic elements, by relying more upon the delineation of character, and by giving more thought to the building up of the plot and to the invention of comic situations. It responded also to the influence of the more realistic treatment of life which Euripides had introduced into tragedy. Indeed, it is quite possible that there was a fairly close agreement in method and in attitude between Euripides, the last of the great writers of Greek tragedy, and Menander, the first of the great writers of Greek comedy.

In the plays of Æschylus, we see the lyric and the dramatic existing side by side, and the drama has not succeeded in making the song subservient. In the plays of Sophocles, we find the lyric fused with the dramatic, welded into it, made helpful to the tragic story. In the plays of Euripides, we discover that the chorus lingers like an atrophied organ, which the dramatist dared not amputate out of regard for tradition. In the plays of Menander, we note that the needful operation has taken place. At the hands of Euripides the chorus serves only to fill out the lyric interludes of the dramatic action; and it is this "entr'acte" music that Menander omits. Greek tragedy had been lyric in its origin, and was perforce poetic; whereas Greek comedy, after Aristophanes, was free to be prosaic, as was needful in dealing more directly with the facts of everyday existence. As De Quincey says it was "the acknowledged duty of comedy to fathom the coynesses of human nature, and to arrest the fleeting phenomena of human demeanor."

Unfortunately for us, no play of Menander's has survived. We have a few fragments of scenes; we have many quoted sentences; we

have the Latin adaptations of Plautus and Terence; but we have not a single play complete by which we could make up our own minds as to his dramaturgic skill. We can judge of him as a poet and as a moralist by means of the lines preserved here and there by his admirers. But, although we have one play of Terence's which seems to have been derived without admixture from Menander, this is really not enough to justify any opinion about his play-making faculty. We do not know much more about Menander as a dramatist than we should know about Shakspeare as a dramatist, if his works were altogether lost and if all we had left were, first, the librettos of the French operas, which had been founded on his plots, and, second, the extracts in some dictionary of "Familiar Quotations." We are at liberty to guess that Menander found compensation for his sinking from the lyric heights of Aristophanes by not descending to the depths of base vulgarity in which the earlier poet reveled. We may surmise that his plays were often genuine comedies rather than mere farces,—in that he sought the truth of life itself rather than the boisterous laughter evoked by exaggeration. Certainly his contemporaries continually testify to the veracity of his scenes. "On the stage," as Chamford declared, "the aim is effect, but the difference between the good dramatist and the bad is that the former seeks effect by reasonable means, while for the latter any and all means are excellent."

In other words, the plays of Menander seem to have been an anticipation of the modern comedy-of-intrigue and the modern comedy-of-manners. The plots were ingenious and plausible; and they were peopled with characters common in Athens at that time,—the miserly father, the spendthrift son, the intriguing servant, the braggart soldier, the obsequious parasite, the woman of pleasure;—and here in this last type we find the most marked difference between Menander and Molière, for example. In modern comedy as in modern society, women occupy many conspicuous positions; but in Athens respectable women took no part in social life, remaining at home and caring for their households. Therefore in Greek comedy women are little seen, and those who do appear belong to the less respectable classes. It was impossible for Menander to treat such a theme as served Molière in the "*Femmes Savantes*," Augier in the "*Gendre de M. Poirier*," and Ibsen in the "*Doll's House*"; and here no doubt is the most serious limitation of Greek comedy. To Menander himself the deprivation is most injurious, since he obviously possessed the delicacy of perception that would have enabled him to handle feminine character with insight and subtlety. His prevailing tone, as Professor Jebb notes, is "that of polite conversation, not without



passages of tender sentiment, grave thought, or almost tragic pathos."

Although the chorus had disappeared in Menander's day, the tradition of the mask still survived. The mask was probably a pasteboard head not unlike those now seen in our comic pantomimes; and a great variety of them had been modeled for use in comedy, each of which served to declare at once the character of the wearer and to announce on his first appearance whether, for instance, he was a dutiful young man or a wanton prodigal. Indeed, there were said to be ten distinct masks available for the several young men of the play, nine for the old men, and seven for the slaves. In a theatre so vast as that at Athens, it would have been impossible for the spectators to perceive the changing expression and the mobility of feature which on the modern stage add so much to our enjoyment. Probably, moreover, the Athenian of old was no more annoyed by the facial rigidity of the masked characters than are our children today disturbed by the unchanging countenances of Mr. Punch and Mrs. Judy, and of Mr. Punch's other wooden-headed friends.

#### V.

The Greeks were clever and witty; they were admirably qualified for comedy; and their language was likewise easy and flexible. The Romans who conquered them and who fell captive to their charm, were a more serious people, not so likely to appreciate the comic drama; and their language was a lapidary tongue, grave and concise and a little lacking in lightness and fluidity. Latin reflects perfectly the sanity, the solidity, the robust common sense of the race that spoke it. Although there was always a certain austerity among the Romans, a certain deficiency in humor, they had early shown their appreciation of the primitive comic play which had been developed by their neighbors, the Etrurians. These Atellan fables seem to have been little better than crude farces, not unlike the rough, rustic plays of the Grecian vintage-festivals out of which Greek comedy had been evolved. The themes of these little pieces were probably as vulgar as the fragments of dialogue that have been preserved; and the chief characters were broadly marked rural types, the memory of which may have survived through the empire and through the Middle Ages to emerge again in certain of the personages of the Italian comedy-of-masks.

However low in language these early attempts might be and however rude in art, they could have served as a root out of which a genuine Latin comedy might have been developed, if the Romans had really wanted such a thing. But before this coarse Italic humor had a chance to raise itself into literature, it was thrust aside and its place was taken by Latin adapta-

tions of Greek comedy. The native comic drama that had proved its power to please the populace did not die of this neglect,—indeed it seems to have had a sturdy vitality; but it was deprived of the chance of artistic development and no specimens of it have been preserved. It survived humbly in the shadow of its important Greek rival; and yet, long after all traces of the Latin perversion of the Attic drama have disappeared the coarser Oscan play shows signs of existence in the nooks and corners of the peninsula. Being unliterary, a drama of this primitive type rarely gets itself recorded, even though it continues to please the uncultivated public.

The earlier Roman attitude toward the arts had been a little contemptuous; but this changed when they began to apprehend the beauty of Greek civilization. Having discovered that Greek culture was valuable, the Romans, being a practical people, proceeded at once to import it, wholesale, and in the original package. Their dramatists became adaptors, taking the plots of the plays of Menander and of Menander's clever contemporaries, and transferring these into Latin, leaving the scene in Athens but inserting an abundance of local allusions to Roman manners. They kept the types of character which the Athenian dramatist had observed and which often had only rare counterparts in Rome; the braggart coward, for example, was a Greek and not a Roman,—the Greek had no stomach for fighting whereas the Roman had shortened his sword and enlarged his boundaries. And as a result this Latin comic drama is singularly unreal,—as unreal as certain English adaptations from the French and the German, in which we feel a blank incongruity between the foreign code of manners on which the story is conditioned and the supposedly Anglo-Saxon characters by which it has to be carried out.

Nor was this the sole disadvantage under which Latin comedy labored, for the circumstances of its performance were also disastrous. Plays were provided regularly three times a year by the city authorities and also at irregular intervals when a high functionary took office or when a great dignitary died. The actors were often slaves, who might expect a beating if they failed to be applauded and who might hope for their freedom if they succeeded in pleasing the public. The performances took place in huge theatres modeled upon that in Athens, except that two important changes were made; the orchestra, being no longer needed for the dance of the chorus, was reserved for the seats of the more important officials,—and therefore, in order that these spectators might see, the dressing-house was lowered and brought forward so that its roof might serve as a stage. But of these officials and of the members of the upper circles there were few likely ever to be present, and owing to this absence of the more cul-



tivated public a Roman audience did not represent all classes of the community as the Athenian audience had done,—and as the London and Parisian audiences were to do to which Shakspeare and Molière appealed.

The audience which the Latin dramatist had to try to please was the roughest and most stubborn of any known to the history of the theatre. It contained only men of the lower orders,—and very few of these were natives, for the Roman was serving abroad as a soldier or settled as a colonist while his city was filled with the riffraff of rustics and strangers, uncouth barbarians many of them, prisoners of war, and freedmen, ignorant and brutal, knowing just enough Latin to make it serve as a *lingua franca*. Any delicacy would be wasted on a crowd like this; and no jest could be too gross or too violent to amuse coarse creatures whose chief joy had been in the bloody sports of the arena. Sometimes Gresham's law seems as imperative in the drama as in finance; and the lower tends to drive out the higher,—at least we know that the theatres of New York have a barren fortnight when Barnum's Show comes to town. It is no wonder Terence complains that one of his plays was twice deserted by the spectators, who were suddenly tempted away by the report of more violent delights elsewhere.

## VI.

Before a mob of this sort, the Latin dramatist sought especially to make his plot clear, and he was afraid of no reiteration to avoid misunderstanding. He could not count on any intelligence of comprehension, and so we find at the beginning of one of his plays a prologue in which is set forth the exact situation at the opening of the story, and which then goes on to tell in advance what the plot was going to be, returning finally to explain again the state of affairs at the moment when the action was to open. It is doubtful whether all the prologues as we have them are the work of Plautus himself; and it is true that this explanation may have been destined especially to allow more time for the turbulent folk still standing to find seats or at least to settle themselves in their places. But even if the prologue is thus made to serve as a substitute for the overture of the modern theatre, there is something pitiful in the precise prolixity of Plautus, so afraid that the most stupid may fail to catch some essential point. And yet the attitude of the Roman dramatist is only an exaggeration of that recommended by the old London stage-manager, who said that if you want the British public to understand anything, you must tell them you are going to do it, then you must tell them you are doing it, and at last you must tell them you have done it,—“and then, confound 'em, *perhaps* they'll understand you!”

The stage was a mere strip of platform in front of a wide architectural background. In the later Roman theatres, in that of Orange, for instance, this rear wall had become a stately elevation with three elaborate doorways and with decorative statuary. But even in the time of Plautus this background, although only a temporary erection of wood, contained doors which served to designate the homes of certain of the characters. In the "Captives," for example, the speaker of the prologue tells the spectators explicitly that a father who has lost his son dwells in the house on the right and that another father who has also lost his son lives in the house on the left; and two of the doors in the rear wall were sufficient to represent these two domiciles.

The actors did not wear masks. Many of their speeches were accompanied by a soloist on the flute. Some of these passages were declaimed to this accompaniment, thus resembling the recitative of modern opera; and some were actually sung to set tunes. Indeed, we are told that sometimes a singer came forward to the side of the actor to deliver these lyrical passages while the comedian merely made the appropriate gestures,—a convention which seems to us monstrous, but which perhaps in itself is no more absurd than the full orchestra accompanying the song of Amiens far in the depths of the Forest of Arden.

The first duty of the Roman dramatist was to be so clear that the stupid spectators could not fail to follow the successive situations; and his second obligation, even more difficult, was to move to mirth his miscellaneous and uneducated audience. Although in theory Roman comedy was only Greek comedy written in Latin, and although Roman comedy was therefore supposed to deal with Athenian life and manners, as a matter of fact the Latin dramatists managed to get into their plays not a little of the local color of their own city. Plautus especially, not knowing himself much about Athenian life and manners, and well aware that his uncultivated Roman audience knew still less and cared nothing at all,—Plautus deals very freely with his Greek original.

The scene of his plays is always supposed to be in Athens, but Plautus continually draws on his own intimate knowledge of the Roman populace. He had a thorough acquaintance with the speech, the methods, the everyday actions of the very class from which was collected the audience to which he appealed. It was his object to make this audience laugh and he could do it by showing them as they lived, by local allusions, by a humorous reproduction of their sayings and their doings. Plautus no more tries deliberately to mirror Athenian habits and deeds than Shakspeare,—in giving us Dogberry and Verges,—tried to mirror the ways of speech and the judicial customs of Sicily. In spite of his pro-



fessed Greek original, Plautus was really giving a picture of low life in Rome as broadly humorous and as fundamentally veracious as the picture of low life in New York which was visible in Mr. Harrigan's comic dramas, such as "Squatter Sovereignty," for example.

Here Plautus was apparently availing himself of the direct methods of the earlier native comedy of the Italians, of the Atellan fables, and of Fescennine satire; and this is just what a born dramatist would do instinctively, even though he had to follow a foreign plot. There is no denying that Plautus was a born dramatist,—born out of time unfortunately, and fallen upon evil days. The circumstances of the theatre did not encourage or even permit his full development. But even if he is taking over his plot from Menander, he is strikingly fresh in his sketches of life among the lowly as he knew it in Rome. He was vulgar, no doubt, but vulgarity was perhaps what his rude audience most relished; and although frank and plainspoken, he is not so indecorous as Aristophanes and he is never so indecent as Wycherley. He had a hearty gaiety as well as a broad humor; indeed, in *vis comica*, in comic force, in the sheer power of compelling laughter, he can withstand a comparison even with Molière, the greatest of all comic dramatists.

## VII.

This comic force is just what is lacking in Terence. Where Plautus is plebeian, in his point of view, Terence is patrician. Plautus is a practical playwright, and Terence is a cultivated man of letters. Plautus is invaluable for the information he has indirectly given us about the life of the Roman populace; Terence is valuable chiefly because his scholarly translations have preserved for us not a few of the best of Menander's comedies. Plautus dealt freely with the works of the Greek dramatists, knowing that his audience was eager to be amused by bold buffoonery, while Terence sought to give a high literary polish to his faithful renderings of Greek plays of a graceful elegance, although he knew they were to be acted before spectators incapable of appreciating either elegance or grace. It is no wonder that the comedies of the later writer failed; he lacked the instinct of the born dramatist who cannot help feeling the pulse of his contemporaries and responding to their unspoken demands. Terence had to wait for a fit audience until his plays were performed in the Italian renaissance before an assembly of cultivated scholars, abundantly capable of appreciating his refinement.

It has been suggested that there was in Menander something of the well-bred ease of the man of the world, such as we see it in Thackeray, and that in Terence there is rather the terseness and high finish of Con-

greve. And certainly Terence is like Congreve in that he is of importance rather as a man of letters than as a dramatist. He is essentially a stylist, concerned rather with his manner than with his matter. Indeed, as his comedies dealt with the life of Athens which he did not know at first hand and not with the life of Rome which he could not help knowing, and in the language of which he was writing, he cannot be acquitted of unreality and artificiality. He has at times a haughty melancholy of his own; and he resented the stupidity of the public incapable of seeing the surpassing merit of his transparent translations. But he had no roots in the soil; he was not only content to be an imitator, he was even proud of being second hand; and what he strove for was at best but a reflected glory. This is, indeed, the fatal defect of the Latin drama,—that the Romans were satisfied with a colonial attitude in all matters of art. They had conquered the Greeks politically; but the Greeks had taken them captive intellectually. Instead of developing the native drama and raising it up to the level of literature by giving it form and substance, they preferred to dwell in servile deference to the greater Greeks.

A dramatic literature is necessarily conditioned by the audience for which it is intended. A mob of lewd fellows of the baser sort will demand plays fitted to their low likings; and this is one reason why the Romans, with all their ability, failed to have a worthy dramatic literature;—their theatre was abandoned to the vulgar. On the other hand, there is danger also if the dramatist is forced to please only the cultivated who are ever prone to apply personal and dilettante standards; and it is this which accounts for the sterility of the Weimar theatre when it was controlled by Goethe. But in the Elizabethan theatre, although the rude and boisterous groundlings filled the yard, there were city madams in the rooms above and there were gallants sitting on the stage itself; and altogether the playwright had before him a representative public. So Molière, inventing certain of his comedies for the court of the king, always counted on bringing them out later in his own theatre for the joy of the burghers of Paris. Yet it may be doubted whether any audience to be found in Paris under Louis XIV. or in London under Elizabeth, was as carefully trained to understand and to appreciate or was as delicately discriminative in its taste as those which in Athens flocked to behold the tragedies of Sophocles and the comedies of Menander.



# THE "DON JUAN" OF MOLIERE

## CONSTANT COQUELIN

PARIS

### I.

THE work of the masters is revealed differently according to the times; it discloses new aspects, latent meanings; one part, until then exclusively admired, steps back, and another, less known, advances into the open light. Each century as it passes, likes to find itself reflected in this mirror and very naturally prefers that corner wherein it may recognize itself.

That is why the "Malade Imaginaire," which, not long ago, was considered merely a farce, is classed now in the present time, when we ourselves are somewhat stricken with Argan's own malady, among the deepest comedies of the master.

For similar reasons, "Don Juan," which the seventeenth century allowed only after correction, and which the eighteenth century hesitated to admire, although it had been warned, "Don Juan," after all sorts of adventures quietly takes its position at the very head.

It is, as every one recognizes, the most distinctive work of the author and of his time. In it, Molière took every liberty imaginable. Its general tone is that of comedy, but the comedy which here and there touches on clownishness, rises at times to drama, and attains even to mystery. In it, every kind of speech is uttered; the whole of society is brought upon the stage, peasants, the middle class, religious men,—for the Poor Man has all the appearance of a hermit,—and with these are mingled people of a better class and even of a better world, for the supernatural rubs elbows with reality. One scene is laid in the tomb, with hell in its awful depths below, wherein the hero is engulfed. "Don Juan" is a direct attack upon everything that was adored at that time, and even upon what we adore today, science; and in return, and for the first time, perhaps, at least in its new meaning, Molière makes him throw in the face of the Divinity whom he denies, this great word: Humanity.

All this is done in the most independent form: no more unities either of time or place; the piece outruns the twenty-four allotted hours; the scene changes, in the third act, for example, in the very middle of the dialogue; the character of the hero constitutes the whole unity of the play and the necessity of his punishment alone determines its conclusion.

Translated by Miss Susan Hilles Taber of Burlington, Vermont.

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These liberties have, at all times, compromised "Don Juan." The audacities of the content scandalized the seventeenth century, those of the form shocked the delicate taste of the eighteenth. The romanticists admired it quietly; they made an idea out of the hero, or, to put it better, a very different ideal, and that is why we are told today that it is not necessary to pay much attention to "Don Juan" and that Molière *did not do it expressly*; I quote the very words of M. Jules Lemaître in his charming and penetrating study.

Dare I say it? Dare I say that I think it rather impertinent of us to pretend that genius did not do *expressly* what he did, especially when it is a question, as is the case, of the most reasonable genius of our theatre, and, I might say, of the very genius of reason. Molière, it is said, wrote his "Don Juan" only at the request of his comrades and because the rival troops each had their version, and were making money by it. The subject was composed of certain established scenes, Molière could not treat it differently.

But, first, it does not appear to me at all certain that Molière had waited, to think of his "Don Juan," until his comrades begged it of him. If the play savors, in places, of improvisation, in many others it is written with loving skill, and it may well be that as we stand before it, we are face to face with a work long thought upon, but rapidly accomplished and, as the word is given me, since Molière was bidding open defiance, of a "mobilization." The play, which is a revenge for "Tartuffe," must have been conceived immediately after the prohibition of that masterpiece and finished hurriedly when the prohibition became positive.

The subject was admirable and the usual scenes were forced to utter the truths that Molière wished to express. He took possession of the old fable by Tirso of Molina, popularized by the Italians and already translated into French by Dorimond and Villiers; he treated it with the liberties which they had taken, but he added to them, which is sufficient proof, it seems to me, that he did it expressly.

His predecessors (I mean those in France) did not infringe upon the rule of the twenty-four hours; they did not pronounce the holy names; they said *the gods* for God, just as the Italians said *Jupiter*; and, lastly, they did not have the scene with the Poor Man, nor the terrible apostrophe of Don Louis, nor Don Juan's speech in praise of hypocrites. If, then, Molière, in a ready-made framework, made use of licenses that were already authorized,

"Et des changements de théâtre  
Dont le bourgeois est idolâtre"



(as Loret says), he exaggerated these licenses and went further than any one had ever gone at that time, so far, indeed, that I question if any one has overtaken him since!

And that was because, as I have already said, "Don Juan" was for him a *revenge*.

"Don Juan" is the last battle of what I should call the heroic period of Molière's life.

I have touched upon this elsewhere but I do not scruple to come back to it again because it is something which has not, it seems to me, been made sufficiently clear by the biographers. There were several periods in Molière's career, and it is after his comic romance in the provinces and the gropings which marked his first years in Paris, that I distinguish two which are essential: the one, full of development and struggle, where society, with its institutions and its powers is made to play Molière's comedy,—the time of "L'École des Femmes," "Tartuffe," and "Don Juan." The "Misanthrope," a masterpiece of transition, closes this period and opens the way to the next and last period, which continues until the death of the master; it is the one where, renouncing social comedy, Molière studies and brings upon the stage, with all the depth of insight that we know, particular characters; this is the time of "L'Avare," of "M. Jourdain," of "Les Femmes Savantes," and of "Argan."

During his militant period, Molière is still in good health, he is exuberant with life and courage, he loves and is loved, or believes himself to be, and especially does he rely upon the protection of a young king, himself a lover, full of desires of glory, and impatient of all devout constraint. There was an agreement between the comedian and the monarch. It seems that the latter had given the former a patent, allowing him to parody and play upon all the powers and mighty men of his state, himself excepted. "Les Fâcheux" is merely a skirmish, less than that if you prefer, a volley of musketry, but in the "École des Femmes," Molière treats the social question and the part which religion bears upon it. He is openly disrespectful. He shocks the "Mystères." We feel that here is a man who will dare anything.

The warning cabal begins the attacks upon him. It rains libels; the "précieuses," the scholars, the marquises, the devotees, and the comedians all take a share in the attack. Molière faces them all.

Those charming replies, the "Critique" and "L'Impromptu" were for the marquises and the ladies, but he gives warning in the "Impromptu" that he knows this war which is being waged against him *is only a diversion in order to turn him from the other works that he has still to do*; and

to show that nothing can turn him from them, he produces "Tartuffe."

He is now at the brightest point of his career,—he is entirely master of himself; he can act in perfect freedom and so he gives birth to the most beautiful flower of his genius. The recklessness of the "École des Femmes" is nothing beside what is to come. He parodies the very church itself, showing it in the family and pleading against it in the name of *human sentiments*. With what valor the subject is treated! And what language! Molière kept all the freshness and quaintness of the "Étourdi," so prized by Victor Hugo, but the humor is never allowed to injure the character drawing; each person speaks exactly his own language, Tartuffe among the rest, and with what unction, we all know!

Thus Molière pursued the task which he had laid down for himself. And what happened? The protection of the king failed in the case of the masterpiece; rising superior to Louis XIV., Molière hurled himself against the reason of the state, against the *ultima ratio* represented then by the canons of the church;—"Tartuffe" was prohibited.

In vain did Molière struggle; in vain did he remodel the play; in vain did he go so far as to say, in a petition, that if the "Tartuffe" were taken away from him, he must give up writing comedies. Either he merely wished to make the king apprehensive of a step which would have deprived him of the choicest of his amusements or he really meant that he would rather break his pen than renounce his freedom in writing, revolving, doubtless, other great projects and planning younger brothers for "Tartuffe."

In spite of all his efforts, the candle of his masterpiece remained hidden beneath the bushel.

Molière was not the man to give up at the first defeat; he did not wish to admit himself beaten, nor to succumb without returning blow for blow, and it was then, that, taking possession of the popular subject of the day, he transformed it, enlarged it, and by a stroke of genius, answered the cabal with "Don Juan" and in the same character confounded his enemies with two mighty powers: the wicked, grand seigneur and the false devotee.

His courage was great and the affair created much talk. The play had some success, judging from the receipts, but after the second representation it had to be cut and after the fifteenth performance, when there was an interruption on account of the Easter holidays, the play was not resumed, evidently by order, and was not even printed. Other libels even more atrocious succeeded those occasioned by "Tartuffe," and the poet, consecrated to the light, was now forced to question whether it was possible for him to continue the war.



He was no longer well; a severe illness marked the end of the year 1665 and he was no longer happy; it was the time of his dissensions with his wife.

Lastly, a point to be noticed, the king had just attached him directly to himself, pensioning his troop and making it the king's; a glorious title, doubtless, but one that forced Molière to be more prudent; it would not have been wise for him to compromise the royal patronage with any scandalous affair and this he was doubtless given to understand.

Thus Molière was compelled to give up the great subjects that still lay before him. The "Impromptu" had paved the way for a strong play upon court life; such a comedy, built on the plan of "Tartuffe" and with the liberties of "Don Juan," would have provoked a terrible outburst; he did not write it but gathered from it the "Misanthrope."

Does it not seem,—and I have made the observation before,—that in the dialogue between Alceste and Philinthe, we may hear the echo of the argument that was being raised in Molière's own mind? Alceste is the Molière of the struggle, who will not admit that with evil one should observe one's distance, and who, rather than yield, would break his lance in the face of the human race and retire into a desert. Philinthe is Molière the philosopher, adapting himself to the times, excusing the ways of men, resigning himself to the fact that he will not be able to correct them as he would, and depicting them as they are: evil minded monkeys or raging wolves. This Molière will write no more social comedy, but he will continue the "comédie Humaine." He will leave finance to Lesage, the magistracy to Beaumarchais; in his "Bourgeois" he will paint only one eccentricity of that class, and the very subject of the "Femmes Savantes," a masterpiece of his second manner, will not have the breadth and dash of the choice of his earlier years.

But he will study characters with an unequalled keenness, with the same dramatic zeal (I mean in the real sense of the word drama, which signifies action) and with the same inextinguishable gayety, which even in his last hours gave Dorine a sister in Toinette.

For the rest, no longer allowed to write other "Tartuffes," Molière struggled to place the first one upon the stage. He concentrated all his policy upon this. He abandoned "Don Juan" more willingly, not that he despised that masterpiece, but it had been played, it had had its lease of life, and for an author, especially an actor author (see Shakespeare) the printing is nothing, the performance is everything, and "Don Juan," having once been staged, no longer held the hundredth part in Molière's heart that did "Tartuffe," lying in utter oblivion.

He persisted, consequently, and on the fifth of February, 1669,

he was successful and that day, an ever memorable day, "Tartuffe" was played, "Tartuffe" was praised to the skies.

But this victory did not restore Molière's former liberty, and the play that followed the long forbidden masterpiece, a play commanded by the king, was not, alas! a second "Tartuffe," it was "Monsieur de Pourceaugnac."

Here, in passing, let us say that this fact should teach us to measure our gratitude to Louis XIV. His protection was of much value. But who knows of what masterpieces we have been deprived on account of Molière's restricted liberty and because of the king's love for the ballets and his preference for those "innocently agreeable" comedies, of which Mesnard speaks; let us call them by their real name, not comedies, but farces. For it is a mere jest to repeat, as is still done, that Molière wrote his buffooneries for the people; the court did not the less enjoy them; it was expressly for the king that he finished the "Bourgeois" as a farce, and the piece played most frequently before Louis XIV., was "Le Cocu Imaginaire."

There are still many things that might be said upon this subject, if one examined, for instance, what changes in Molière's language were caused by this restriction in the freedom of his genius. During his first manner, he used the Gallic, following openly in the lead of Rabelais; an interesting fact, it was the time of plays in verse.

The last period, on the contrary, was the time of plays in prose; after the "Misanthrope" there are none in verse except "Amphitryon" and "Les Femmes Savantes." In them Molière shows himself more of an artist, but less perhaps of a poet; the foolish pranks of the earlier days are rare, the Latin tongue forbade them, it seems to me. But the depth of comprehension remains the same and the language lends itself more and more to the conditions of the characters.

To return; in a sale of autographs, I noticed at random in a curious letter the passage which I quote here, "What impresses me most today, in Molière, is the philosopher and the socialist even more than the great poet. His *libertism*, to use a word of the time, is manifest in every page of his work, despite the infinite precautions with which he was obliged to envelop it. The time has come, perhaps, to give back to this great genius all that our Revolution cost him," and the letter is signed, "Emile Augier."

In my opinion, this is somewhat excessive. Molière has not a grain of socialism and if I call "Tartuffe" or even "L'École des Femmes" social comedies, I mean that they are plays upon society and its institutions. But I little believe that Molière dreamed of a revolution; and



yet Augier was not entirely wrong. Molière had the ideas of the race regarding society, the ideas that, with us, have always had laughter for a weapon; reason, a healthy nature, liberty, it was in the light of these ideas and for their triumph that he wished to paint his own times. During the first period, he worked bravely; in the second, by express command, he was obliged to desist.

This is the reason, perhaps, although his genius had not ceased to grow until the day he succumbed, discouraged, in the midst of his work, that in spite of the variety of the types which he created in the last period of his career, in spite of the brilliancy of the wit that conceived M. Jourdain, Harpagon, Maître Jacques, Georges Dandin, Diafoirus, Argan, and many others, in spite of the perfection of these inimitable “Femmes Savantes,” the true Molière, the one who is at once the most *himself* and the most *ourself*, is the Molière of the struggles, of the “École des Femmes,” of “Tartuffe,” and of “Don Juan.”

The preface has been long, but it will not have been useless if, as I hope, it has helped us to better understand the historical importance of this last masterpiece, by recalling the decisive time when it was written.

## II.

The legend of Don Juan came to us from Spain and there are some who think that it has an historical foundation. That is very possible, although it resembles strongly many other stories of moving and speaking statues, and, in my opinion, is rather one of those tales that spring up everywhere, no one knows how. However this may be, it is the story of a libertine, a son of one of the old families of Seville, who seduces the daughter of the Commander d’Ulloa. The father being angry, the seducer kills him. A little while later, the libertine himself is found dead in the chapel of the convent of St. Francis, where the tomb of the Ulloas stood, and the monks whispered the story abroad that the statue of the commander, by divine permission, had torn the evil nobleman’s soul from his body and carried it to hell. Other traditions, it would seem, have been grafted upon this one, but we will come back to them later.

Tirso de Molina drew from this story a comedy, which is not, we are told, the best of the three hundred that he composed, but which contains certain beautiful scenes and is not unworthy of its extraordinary good fortune. It is the famous “Burlador de Sevilla” or the “Convivado de Piedra”; this jovial stone statue became in France, strangely enough, the “Festin de Pierre.”

No one today doubts that Molière knew Tirso’s comedy. He read

many Spanish plays at that time and drew "La Princesse d'Élide" from a play by Moreto, and he took many of the features of "Tartuffe" from a story by Barbadillo; he was still under Tirso's influence when he wrote "Le Misanthrope," for the conclusion of Aronte's sonnet is taken from a serenade in the "Burlador." It is even possible that he saw the play given in Paris by the queen's Spanish comedians. For the rest, he borrowed nothing from the Castilian author that the Italians had not already taken, but to this assiduous reading, he owes, perhaps, the Spanish coloring in certain scenes, for example, between Elvira's two brothers. The following is the story as Tirso gives it:—

The first act opens in Naples with one of Don Juan's adventures. Under the name of a certain Duke Ottavio, beloved by the Duchess Isabelle, Don Juan secretly enters her room at night, abuses and dishonors her, and then, recognized, makes good his escape and flees to the sea. Here comes in the scene of the shipwreck. Saved by his valet, Cataliñon, the *gracioso* of the play, Don Juan is taken in by the beautiful Tisbea, whom Tirso presents to us as a peasant and who speaks with the language of a "précieuse"; but Charlotte or Cathos, it is all one to Don Juan, he seduces her, then abandons her, and Tisbea, desperate, sets fire to her cottage and goes away to search for him throughout the world.

We find him in Seville in the second act and here the play really begins. The Marquis de la Mota, a courtesan and a fop, imprudently confides to Don Juan his love for Doña Anna, daughter of the Commandant Ulloa. Don Juan immediately resolves to run away with her himself. The reprimands of her father, who has heard of his adventures in Naples, and the fact that he is now exiled by the king, does not prevent him from accomplishing his design; he gains access to the young girl in the dress of the marquis and not until too late does she recognize him and call for aid; at her call, her father appears, Don Juan kills him and flees.

On his way to the place of his exile, he passes through a village where the wedding of the vine grower's daughter, Aminta, is being celebrated. Aminta is more natural than the beautiful Tisbea, but, none the less, Don Juan plays his usual game with her, for, under cover of taking her to the royal court, in order to marry her himself, he breaks up the wedding celebrations, deceives the fair bride, and disappears.

The third act brings us back to Seville, whence Don Juan has returned out of sheer bravado. Once there, penetrating to the convent, a place of refuge, he finds himself face to face with a statue of the commandant; he treats it in a hail-fellow-well-met manner, pulls its stone beard, and replies to the chidings of the frightened Cataliñon by inviting the stone



image to take supper with him; the commandant remains motionless, but in the following scene we hear him knock at the door of the impious man's house.

The scene is long but very beautiful. As in Molière's play, Don Juan invites his valet to eat with him but the latter excuses himself and his master then orders that they be regaled with a merry song.

In the bottom of his heart, however, Don Juan is deeply touched, “If you are a soul in pain,” he says to the statue, “or if you long for satisfaction to give you comfort, say so. I give you my word I will do whatever you say. Do you stand in the presence of God? Did Death overcome you in a state of grace? Speak, I listen anxiously.” Clearly, this is not the atheist of Molière, but Tirso's Don Juan is no less brave. The statue, in his turn, invites the burlador to dine; he accepts for he says, “I am a Tenorio.” “And I,” replies the statue, “am a Ulloa.” “I will not fail you!” “I believe it,” answers the man of stone, “Farewell.” “Stay, I will light you out!” “It is unnecessary, I am in a state of grace.” He is superb in his brevity and faith.

And while Don Juan's misdoings are being noised abroad, and the court buzzes with the talk of his victims, the hero himself goes to the rendezvous in the tomb, laughing at Cataliñon who bids him be distrustful, and saying that he considers his evil days to be those when he has no money, and that all the others are excellent. The statue appears. The repast is served; it consists of scorpions and vipers sprinkled with gall and vinegar, and Don Juan is regaled with a sepulchral serenade. “None can say, ‘there is yet time enough!’ The time for repentance is short and it is a debt that does not pay itself!” As he speaks, the statue seizes Don Juan's hand. “Let me go, or I will pierce you with my dagger! \* \* \* but I strike only air!” He pleads the extenuating circumstances, “I did not dishonor your daughter, she discovered my trick in time!” “What odds?” replies the statue, “the intention was enough!” “At least let me call a priest and confess myself!” “It is too late, Don Juan!” And he is engulfed within the tomb.

This is Tirso's conception of Don Juan. It contains, indeed, the germ of all the others and the great lines of the drama are there but the characters are lacking. It is a far cry from Tirso's Don Diègue to the Don Louis of Molière, from Aminta to Charlotte, from the stupid *gracioso*, Cataliñon, to the plausible poltroon, Sganarelle, who is the popular counterpart of his famous master, believing in the strength of common sense as the other trusts to force of will; and it is a far cry indeed from that Catholic Don Juan, whose only impiety consists in crying, after each fresh adventure, when he is bidden to repent, “Aha! there's plenty of

time for that later!" to the Don Juan whom we know, who believes nothing but that two and two make four and who dies with defiance and denial on his lips.

The Italians, it is true, furnished Molière with a few of his new elements. To judge of what he took from them, we must look over the play by Cigognini, the scenario by Dominique, and the two French plays, one by Dorimond and the other by Villiers and both imitations of the Italian of Giliberto, whom they follow scene for scene and often line for line.

These comedies are essentially reproductions of Tirso's story. But, during his sojourn in Rome, Don Juan became an atheist, and the play was thenceforward called "*L'Ateista fulminato*." It was performed in the churches as a warning and example, and even today "*Don Juan de Zorilla*" is played in Spain on the day of the dead. "*L'Ateista*" was more the bold, wicked man, who does not shrink from either assassination or rapine and who approaches very nearly to parricide, as is shown by the sub-title in the French plays, "*Le Festin de Pierre*" or "*Le fils Criminel*."

Briefly, these are the scenes as given in Villiers' play: In the first act, Don Juan, upon being reprimanded by his father, answers in such fashion that the good man goes away to die of grief.

In the second act, Don Juan attempts to ruin Amarille,—Tirso's Doña Anna,—and kills the commandant who comes to the rescue of his daughter.

This exploit, publicly committed, forces Don Juan to flee in disguise; he changes his clothes for those of Philipin, his valet, a scene that Molière had in mind although he merely indicates it, preferring in his own play to make Don Juan assume a peasant's dress and Sganarelle the robe of a doctor.

Molière further makes use of another idea; in the third act, Don Juan meets a pilgrim, buys his cloak from him and puts it on that he may deceive Don Philippe, Amarille's lover and betrothed, who is seeking for him and who does not recognize him in such disguise; the false pilgrim, playing the hypocrite, induces his rival to pray with him and to remove his sword in Christian humility before kneeling down; thereupon, seeing Don Philippe disarmed and at his mercy, he assassinates him. The encounter with the pilgrim is the germ of the scene with the Poor Man; Molière kept nothing of the rest but the hypocrisy which he too attributes to Don Juan, not in order to abuse a poor man, but rather to make it a prevalent instrument.

The fourth act is the shipwreck followed by a moment's uneasiness



on the part of Don Juan and his fleeting conversion which vanishes quickly, however, before the beauty of a village bride.

In a parenthesis, let me say that here occurs the episode of the list, omitted by Molière, the famous list of Don Juan's victims which is unrolled by the valet of the terrible seducer,—and as one piece of Dominique's buffoonery, Arlequin, holding one end of the roll, throws the other out into the audience and requests the spectators to make sure that they do not see inscribed upon it, the names of their wife or daughter or sister. It is useless to add that Don Juan promptly coaxes the young bride away from her husband.

The remaining scenes are those with the statue. To Don Juan's invitation, it replies with a nod of its head, a point that is not found in Tirso's story and which Molière has retained. The statue, observe this detail, is on horseback, and as Villiers confesses in his preface, the authors relied upon Don Pierre and his horse to draw the crowd. The supper offered by Don Juan is at last followed by Don Pierre's feast and here again we find the scorpions and vinegar of the "Burlador"; then comes the final swallowing up, which even in Cigognini is followed by the valet's cry, "My wages! My wages!" These lost wages are, for Sganarelle, a just retribution for all the smaller crimes that his devotion to a detestable master has led him to commit.

### III.

Such, briefly, are the varied elements that Molière's predecessors left at his disposal.

He kept the general plan, the whole of the fantastic machinery and a few of the traditional scenes, which he treated in his own way. But in addition to the general making-over of all the characters, he introduced many modifications into the story.

First of all Molière changed the conduct of the play, in a way to mark such a gradation in the wickedness of Don Juan, as to justify the celestial punishment. Thus in the second act, he has repeated the seduction of the two peasant girls, transferred into the fourth act the terrible apostrophe of Don Louis and the parricidal impertinence of Don Juan's reply, and carried Don Juan's hypocrisy over into the fifth act, for his hypocrisy constituted the inexpressible crime, surpassing all other wickedness in the sight of God.

Secondly, Molière has suppressed the scenes of the murders. Another fact is also very significant; Tirso, all the Italians, and indeed, all of Molière's successors with but one exception, wrote of the commandant as the father of the lady whom Don Juan dishonored, and of

the commandant's death as the result of defending or avenging his daughter. Not so Molière! In his play, the commandant is not Elvira's father and no one knows how or why he died. Sganarelle does not say a word about it, nor does Don Juan. He has *killed him properly*; that is all we know. Is there not a hidden jest in these words? Do they not mean that he killed him in open duel, according to rule, which would explain Don Juan's remark that the affair had been hushed up? Moreover, the affair dates back six months and beyond what the master and his valet say, no one mentions it throughout the play.

It is clear that this change lessens the impression, and this commandant, whom nobody knows anything about, is far from producing the effect of Don Gonzalo or Don Pierre, who are brought back to life in order to avenge their honor. For what reason did Molière pass over such a sure dramatic touch?

One more remark; instead of treacherously killing the fiancé of the girl whom he has ruined, the Don Juan of Molière rushes gallantly to the rescue of Donna Elvira's brother. It was with such outbursts of generosity that Molière, with an almost Corneillian touch, replaced the scenes of treachery and murder which, among the Italians, had given his hero such an abominable character.

The explanation of these grave changes lies in the change in Don Juan's character. The Italians, when they made him an atheist, also made him a vulgar scoundrel; Molière refused to do that. He pictures him as the most fascinating of men,—well-built, witty, brave, a great lord to his finger-tips, for it was the great lord that Molière wished to portray and to carry as far as a great lord could go in his time. No vile deeds for him; Don Juan is no longer an assassin; for shame! but he is continually striving to profane all that man holds most sacred: modesty, faith, pity. Quite as charming as Célimène, he is, like her, made of ice and recognizes no law but that of elegance. He knows no God but his own desire, he is without curb and without mercy, but never for an instant does he lower the tone of the comedy and it is with the utmost politeness that he quietly gets rid of his father!

It was with the purpose of exposing in bold relief this type, at once attractive yet so repulsive that Molière added to his first scenario the delicious lines of the first act on budding loves and the proud joy of seduction, the dialogue with Sganarelle on the art of healing, on faith and philosophy, the meeting with Donna Elvira's brothers, the sublime scene with the Poor Man, and, in another style, that with M. Dimanche; it was with this purpose in view, I repeat, that he made his atheist reënter the pale of the church.



But in restoring Don Juan to comedy, in taking from him all that was debasing, giving him honor according to the world's standard, and clothing him with every grace, in order that he might show him capable of infringing upon all that men hold in reverence, Molière did not, however, mean that any one should misunderstand his intention and he put the full expression of his thought into the terrible apostrophe of Don Louis. There is nothing that can be compared with it, even in Tirso. He has here defined true nobility and its duties, “nobility is nothing where virtue is not, and an honest street porter is better than Don Juan.”

The beautiful character of Don Louis is repeated in that of his wife, of whom we catch a glimpse in a few touching words in the fifth act; there is nothing more Corneillian than these two sorrowful people, Don Juan's father and mother, placed as they are in the background, like two figures on a tomb.

Molière was not satisfied with old Don Louis alone as a foil for Don Juan; accordingly with the same purpose in view, he sketched the portraits of two gentlemen, Don Carlos, a noble knight, full of justice, wisdom, and kindness, and his brother, Don Alonzo, who lends a dash of ferocity to Spanish honor and does not stop for any consideration when an injury is to be avenged.

Thus the picture is complete; the old nobility and the new, the courtesan and the hidalgo both have their place, there only remains to add the character of Elvira, so softly shaded and so delicate in the two scenes where she appears; charming in the first act, when, in the pride of her race and indignant at the hypocrisies of Don Juan, she threatens him with the wrath of God, of her brothers, and of herself; so touching in the fourth act, when, like another La Vallière, repentant but still loving and warned that the vengeance of heaven draws near, she comes to bid the ingrate be upon his guard, to pray him to think, not of her, but of himself! The speech of the poor, loving woman is, as has been said of certain mystic books, delicious with tears!

These are the characters of the drama; but, setting aside the Poor Man for one moment, Molière has no less transformed the people of the comedy. Sganarelle, as I said before, has become his master's counterpart, as inseparable from Don Juan as Sancho and Don Quixote; prosy, with honest common sense, credulous, if you like, even to foolishness, yet nevertheless capable, if not of reasoning correctly, at least of feeling justly; Sganarelle would be the most honest man in the world if he only dared. Quite the opposite of Don Juan, he is merciful but not courageous; he is a slave and as such, a glutton and poltroon, prompt to comfort

himself with words, equally ready to take them back if there is anything to be gained, the faults of a slave, handed down from father to son, the result of bending their heads beneath the yoke of a master, who, for his part, holds his head too high.

We find this same slavish cowardice in Pierrot, who is nevertheless differently situated, and fears no one, except his lord and master. The scene between Pierrot and Charlotte is a masterly one wherein absolute naturalness is added to the truth of their language, "If you love me, Pierrot, didn't you ought to be very glad for me to be a lady?" "nanan dâ, I'd rather see thee buried than see thee belong to anybody else!"

This is human nature in very truth. And not one of their speeches is less documentary.

"Don't be so troubled, Pierrot, when I am Madame, I shall put something good in your way, too, and you shall bring butter and cheese to my house."

"I'll never bring 'ee anything at all, not even if you was to pay me ten times over!"

Are the peasants better portrayed in "La Terre"? To be sure, the crudeness is lacking, but doubtless Molière did not think it necessary, when depicting men, to dilate most particularly on that side of their character of which Monsieur Fleurant was accustomed to speak.

All the scenes of the second act, written with such a naïve reality, so amusing and so profound, belong to Molière and to Molière alone, and also the exquisite episode with M. Dimanche. Molière excels in the creation of these types and in a single scene can make them live forever, Vadius, M. Josse, M. Robert, the officious neighbor, M. Loyal, the hussar of the fraternity, and how many others! M. Dimanche is one of the most perfect. Who has not known him, in his house on the Rue Saint-Denis, who has not known his wife, good Madame Dimanche, and little Colin with his drum, and the dog Brusquet who bites so heartily at one's legs? And what do you think of this Dutch-like interior which Molière has painted in one corner of his fresco?

M. Dimanche is more "bourgeois" than M. Jourdain. M. Jourdain, who has since become M. Poirier, strives more anxiously now to be governor than to be a gentleman, but the papers are always full of Dimanches whom the first swindler, mimicing the grand seigneur, ridicules as easily as did Don Juan and without putting himself to so much expense of wit.

#### IV.

It was, then, by substituting in his usual way, his own profoundly



human people, for the somewhat stiff characters of the old legend, that Molière made a masterpiece of Tirso's old Italianized play. For the same reason, although there have been many great writers among his successors, Molière's work still remains the most beautiful and in comparison with his all other Don Juans are but empty phantoms.

As was inevitable, however, his work has been interpreted according to the times and influenced by environment and the prevailing customs; and since metaphysics have had their share in the affair, it has often happened that no one has seen it clearly. Even today, one critic declares the play to be absolutely obscure and can see in it, not merely one Don Juan, but three or four,—one for each act almost,—the seducer, the atheist, the hypocrite, all bound together by one common trait, dilettantism. M. Jules Lemaître sees in Don Juan a dilettante, a dilettante of evil, be it understood, a kind of *curioso* in the old meaning of the word which signifies a collector; his pleasure is triply refined and he has it, not so much in his endeavors to cause a woman to fall, as in watching to see with what grace she will fall,—a seeker after experience.

This is very pretty, but it is a little too subtle, and perhaps, in the bottom of his heart, M. Jules Lemaître shares my opinion since he adds that this artistic love of evil has been well expressed only within our own days.

I do not know of any one who is clearer than Don Juan. Complex he surely is, but every man is complex; even Alceste himself is not always the same. What we cannot understand in Don Juan and what injures him in our eyes, is his hypocrisy. “Molière must have been greatly incensed with the false devotees to conceive this last transformation of Don Juan.” It upsets our whole ideal. In spite of ourselves, the changes introduced since Molière influence the judgment that we make upon his work. After making Don Juan a fantastic yet sublime being, in the fashion of Faust or Hamlet, and creating in him the incarnation now of the fallen ideal, now of the rebel asserting himself even beneath the thunderbolt, like Milton's Satan or the Prometheus of Æschylus, we do not like to see him lower himself; this ruse which debases him disfigures the symbolic demon in whom we were not displeased to recognize ourselves; it is like an act of treason, in any case it is a deception; and we do not like to see in Don Juan the feature which constitutes, perhaps, his surest historical mark.

What kind of a person did Molière wish to depict? He has answered this question himself, so why should we not believe him? It was the “wicked great lord.” Don Juan is this, and this explains all the traits of his physiognomy. It required a good deal of courage to

portray such a man upon the stage, for more than one man could recognize himself in the picture, and the proof that many of them did, lies in the fact that Sganarelle's little phrase, the key to the whole play,—“a wicked great lord is a terrible thing,”—was suppressed in the edition of 1683 and probably was not used at the performance of the play. Prototypes were not lacking, some one has quoted twenty: Manicamp, Mancini, Vivonne, Retz, and Bussy Rabutin, and the shameless roués that formed the court of Monsieur.

They were an ungodly crew, many because of the fashion, “for,” writes Mme. de Sévigné, “it is out of date to receive the sacraments at Easter, and quite the thing to go and discuss the holy mysteries with Ninon!”

These men were “elegant, depraved, and somewhat ferocious, distrusting all mankind, raised by their condition above the greater part of the laws, where, even during the reign of Louis XIV., many things were still permitted, at least if done in privacy, and their life is difficult for us of today to imagine.” Was not Don Juan one of these?

Many of these libertines died finally unrepentant; others were converted with much éclat and became, like the Prince of Conti, implacable enemies of the comedy and of Molière. Don Juan is a perfect delineation of one of these. Like all of Molière's characters, he is what he is born, and I do not doubt that at the age of six or seven,—the age of reason,—he exercised his profession as seducer, as Célimène exercised hers as coquette. What he is, he derives from his race, he is of the noblest blood and he has all the understanding of such birth. Superior to the common run of men on account of so many inherited refinements, he thinks in good faith that as possessor of all these qualities, he is lifted above the obligations, whatever they may be, to which the rest of miserable mankind must submit. For the rest, experience has confirmed this instinct; small himself, he has seen men make themselves even smaller before him. From this time on, he gives himself up to his career. What is there to hinder his desires? The men allowed him everything,—the women, more. Don Juan never met any that were cruel. Some set God in opposition to him; he overcame them as he overcame the others. God, what does that mean? Free from all human emotion, pity, fear, and holy horror, his frozen soul leaves him an admirable lucidity of mind. As his eye can strip a woman, so can it lay bare mere phrases and pierce through the poverty of our arguments. Why should he recognize any other than himself since God can do nothing and behind his back, he feels man whom he despises? There are only facts



and himself. Facts, like himself, are as they are; to wish them otherwise would be childish.

Don Juan accommodates himself, accordingly, to facts while, as a natural right, all facts must accommodate themselves to him. He is, since the ambitious expression is given me, absolute unto himself. There is nothing good or evil but what pleases or displeases him, and all means are good if they can procure the thing he wants whether it be M. Dimanche's money, Charlotte, the betrothed of Pierrot, or the bride of heaven. Do not be deceived as to his delicacy; his pretty taste for budding love will never prevent him from having recourse to violence if his wishes are not granted.

Through spite, Don Juan falls in love with a young girl who is on the point of marrying the man she loves, this love seems insolent to him, he thinks that to wreck it would give him the greatest pleasure, and since seducing would not be possible here, he resolves to take the fiancée by force and carry her off to sea. He does not hesitate, moreover, on occasion, to make pretence of a lawful marriage; he is a bridegroom with open hands, and, indeed, fraudulent marriages were, for a time, in great use among the libertines. He could always find some monk who would be a party to his plan, or he could disguise his valet as a monk. And thus, by force or by strategy, Don Juan's good pleasure was accomplished. Any authority seems abusive to this *ego* who knew not God, that of a father as much as any other. In his reply, he is not far from reproaching Don Louis with failing in the laws of nature, which have so wisely forbidden that fathers should live as long as their sons!

He laughs at threats; the marvelous itself does not disconcert him. A false light is sufficient explanation for a spectre and if not, what does he care about things that he cannot understand?

“Let the Heavens speak clearly if they wish me to understand!” The mysterious has no hold over him, and he is very ready to believe that where he cannot see anything there is nothing to be seen.

Although he does not believe in the divine mysteries he does, however, take into account the immense power that they exercise, and, an admirable touch, at the very moment they threaten him he resolves to make use of them. Truly, he is in a difficult position: pursued by Elvira's brothers, with his own father working against him, he is nearly crushed beneath the weight of these human laws at which he has mocked for so long, and though he can, indeed, see nothing in them but mere convention and nonsense, yet he is obliged, nevertheless, to admit their strength; How, then, is he to escape them? The way is very simple; he will invoke for

himself the divine laws ; he will go over to the church, the cabal, and God.

Is it a contradiction in his character? Yes, if he has made himself a believer ; if he is converted, he ceases to be Don Juan. But he has no intention of being converted ; beneath the disguise which it pleases him to assume, he scoffs and jests and amuses himself as before ; he is not changed. Do you not feel this in his replies to Don Carlos,—“ *Prenez-vous en au ciel—c’est le ciel qui le veut ainsi,*”—in the insolent speech in which he warns him that “he will presently pass through the little deserted street that leads to the great convent.” And as he makes his hypocritical ironical apology, can you not see upon his lips the impertinent smile of the man of birth, who scorns what others may think of him, who knows, moreover, all there is to be known in this world, or what amounts to the same thing, cannot be duped by anything?

“It is a very good method for doing with impunity the things that I want to do.” He has never cared for anything else. But the method, you say, is base and degrading. Such is not his opinion. “There is nothing shameful about it.” It is the fashionable vice ; customs have changed, and at present it is the fashion to receive the sacraments at Easter, and accordingly Don Juan will receive them. Yet are you picturing him to yourself, a hypocrite like Tartuffe or any of his kind? What an error ! The people of the church had a very haughty mien in those days ; he will remain very much of a gentleman beneath his cassock ; he will still be proud and domineering.

What did you expect him to do? To assume the modern pose, to brave Cæsar and the powder and let himself be burned alive, like Vanini or Morin, for the pleasure of professing aloud his atheism? Others may do this, but not Don Juan ! Truly you mistake the gamester for an apostle. He does not care in the least to spread his ideas ; you may be assured that he does not take it amiss that Sganarelle should be a fool, nor that there should be a religion for the people.

He does not fear death, but he finds it pleasant to live : “Twenty or thirty more years of this life, Sganarelle, and then we will think of reforming.” He will become a father confessor ; the women will not fail him there.

Do you think now that Don Juan’s methods have changed so much? There is no longer any nobility beyond the reach of the law and with the old régime, the wicked great noble has disappeared. But Don Juan has remained. He is no longer the great noble, but he is the man of the world ; like his pattern, elegant, witty, brave without boasting, sensitive upon the point of honor. He professes the same ideas concerning women, believes only in himself, and lives only for the satisfaction of his



whims. If he is rich, so much the better, he is free to ruin himself; if not, let M. Dimanche look out! But he has new methods of taking the latter gentleman's money away from him. "Business is the money of others," so Don Juan does business. On the stage, his name is d'Estri-gaud, and he comes to exactly the same end as in Molière; he turns Jesuit.

At other times, he is interested in politics; he is M. de Marsay and M. de Mora. And then, if in order to achieve the position which he believes due to his superior attainments, and which he needs to pay his debts or to make others, he finds it necessary to create some "coup d'Etat," be assured that he will act in the name of some great principle, the family, or religion, to restore a threatened God and, as he said once before, for the love of humanity. This love, "morbleu," is carried even to socialism! The amelioration of the laboring classes! This is all that he thinks of; it is by this that he makes his money.

Every Don Juan, it is true, does not have such good fortune nor does he make so great a mark. The Don Juan of today—Daudet's Paul Astier, is more diminutive. He is more atrocious than Don Juan, and has few of the traits by which the latter can, at times, command our sympathy; his brilliancy, his grace, the touch, I do not know of what sense of luxury about him that makes the great seigneur; let us say rather, the race. But Astier acts by the rule of  $a + b$  and it is a far cry from this scientific accuracy to the splendid ease and gracefulness of the master. For Paul, women are a means of making a fortune, not an element of pleasure; they are a taste with Don Juan, a career with Paul Astier. This lowers the type. Also he further disarranges the final thunderbolt; a bullet is sufficient to kill him and the commander who fires it is very low born: almost an angry Pierrot. But if Paul Astier had lived, be assured that he would have ended by going to the confessional; the method is correct.

Some little time ago I was reading an appreciation of Shakespeare's "Richard III." "Richard's hypocrisy," said the critic, "consists in a kind of scoffing at holy things, a feeling of insolence towards humanity, and it is easy to recognize in this the pride of a rare intelligence." Is it not also a good definition of the hypocrisy of Don Juan? This is not the only comparison which may be made between the two characters. Is not the scene typical of Don Juan in which Richard seduces Anne, in the very presence of the body of her husband, King Henry VI., whom he has assassinated? Don Juan would be so little astonished at such an action, that Pouchkine ascribes it to him. Richard's hypocrisy, like that of Don Juan, has its artful side. Impertinence, which is the tone

Molière gives to his hero and which belongs to comedy, becomes irony with Richard; it is the tone of tragedy, and this irony is terrible because Richard is deformed. Don Juan deformed, would not be less pitiless than Richard, and Richard replies to his mother as did Don Juan to his father. Both are full of action, never satisfied, always restless, and as Don Juan says of himself, are conquerors like Alexander. And lastly, both Richard and Don Juan, although visited by phantoms, die impenitent and with defiance on their lips.

Is it necessary to examine the assertion which some one has made that there seems to be no great zeal on Molière's part to brand his hero nor that he feels any great hatred for the seducer and ungodly man? It is merely turning around the assertion to say that the omission would seem to be on the part of the critic and has nothing to do with Molière.

It seems to me that Molière has expressed so strongly his reprobation of Don Juan, not only by means of Sganarelle, who would perhaps lack authority, but by the mouth of Elvira, Don Louis, and Don Carlos, that it would be foolish to insist further. But, you say, has he not been rather complaisant about painting the attractive features of his wicked man? Possibly. You could, however, reproach Shakespeare with the same complaisance in regard to Macbeth, for example. Authors often have a paternal weakness even for those of their children who are the worst monsters; and as we listen to Macbeth, we cannot help feeling a secret interest in this hero who has gone over to evil, so Don Juan, until the very end, has for us a charm that we cannot deny. I do not believe, however, that any one feels for him the pity that they feel for Macbeth, and truly his death leaves "each one satisfied." When he made Don Juan a hypocrite, Molière showed clearly in what aversion he held him. It is true, notwithstanding, that he has portrayed somewhat of himself in this character? Before we look closely at this question, from which arises the still greater question of Molière's philosophy, it will be interesting for us to find out a little of what became of Don Juan after the master's death.

## V.

The translator of "Don Juan de Zorilla" in the "British Review," says in his preface that he could quote the names of thirty-two poets who have sung of the terrible seducer. This seems to me a very small number; the list in any case has grown longer since then and I would not be surprised if it ended by including as many names as the famous list of the hero himself. There is not a poet but has dreamed of his Don Juan, as there is no mortal man who, during some part of his life at



least, would not have delighted to follow in his footsteps, especially in his brilliancy.

We do not need to count Thomas Corneille, who merely versified Molière's play, after first purging it of all its boldness. There is no doubt but that this version was useful; it took the place upon the stage, of the forbidden masterpiece but it kept it for too long a time. It is a pity to look in these soft, easy lines for the strong, fertile prose of the master, and have we not said all there is to say concerning our literary pusilanimities when we recall the fact that it was this version which was given scarcely forty years ago and that the real “Don Juan,” with the scene of the Poor Man, was given again for the first time on Molière's stage January 15, 1847! The performance was brilliant, at least if I may judge by the cast in which figure the names of Ligier, Samson, Provost, Geffroy, Regnier, and Augustine Brohan.

Nor is there anything to be said of “*L'Athée Foudroyé*” by Rosimond, nor of Shadwell's “*Libertine*,” nor Goldoni's buffoonery, nor the comedy of “*Zamora*,” which is merely Tirso rejuvenated.

The only Don Juan, until Mozart, who does credit to the series, is Richardson's Lovelace. For under this name, we find him again, the scholarly seducer, irresistible and coldly cruel, sacrificing the purest and most charming soul to his pride, yet always the perfect gentleman, correct and elegant. He has not changed, he is the classical Don Juan.

Neither is it in the little book which inspired Mozart that we may expect to see a transformed Don Juan. “A jolly companion, loving wine and women,” Hoffmann has said, and Don Juan is not that,—you will observe, in passing, that an orgy is foreign to Molière's hero; he does not make a feast in the vulgar sense of the word, does not degrade himself by low company, and it is only to give satisfaction to the commandant that we see him with a glass in his hand. Mozart's music is marvelous, but did he really dream of a new Don Juan, wholly different from the hero of Molière, one who would be the real Don Juan at least according to Hoffmann and Musset? I very much doubt it, and to all appearances, it is to the author of “*Les Contes Fantastiques*” and “*Frères Scapion*” that we owe the transformation of the type and the first appearance of the romantic Don Juan.

The “enthusiastic traveller,” the name given by Hoffmann to himself, gives us his impressions of a performance of “*Don Giovanni*” at which he is present, during his travels, and which is truly extraordinary, since the rôle of Doña Anna is taken by a phantom, or something of that nature. In the overture he hears “the conflict of human nature with the unknown powers that besiege it.” Don Juan appears, and Hoffmann draws his

*physical* portrait for us; a precious document, as may well be understood. "A powerful, admirable nature. \* \* \* His face has an evil beauty. \* \* \* An elegantly moulded nose, piercing eyes, gently salient lips \* \* \* the singular play of a certain muscle gives a Mephistophelian touch to his physiognomy." This last is the essential feature and gives a wonderful flourish to the hero's romantic passport. Now follows the moral description :—

"Don Juan possesses every trait which serves to bring man closer to the divine nature, beauty, strength, and intelligence \* \* \* but such is the fatal result of the original sin that the evil spirit has retained the power to spy upon men and to lay snares to entrap their highest aspirations \* \* \*.

"In the intoxication of his impulses, tormented with the desires awakened by the swift coursing of his blood, Don Juan seizes greedily and constantly at all earthly apparitions. \* \* \* The enemy of the human race persuades him that only in the love and intimacy with women, can he appease this passion of his heart which is nothing else than an immense need to be brought nearer to the divine Intelligence. \* \* \* As a result, flitting constantly from one to another, abusing their charms, always deceived in his hope, yet always seeking the ideal, Don Juan is finally disgusted with this terrestrial life and despises humanity, and the evil power which is shut up within him, pushes him even so far as to defy the Creator and then tumbles him into Hell."

Certainly, this Don Juan would never have come into the world if Faust had not first been conceived. Even Doña Anna is not less symbolical. "Created evidently to reveal to Don Juan by the means of love, the divine nature which lives within his distorted heart, and to pull him back from despair, she has, alas! come too late; he can feel only the infernal desire to defile her; and the dishonored angel, whom duty obliges to seek his death, feels that this death will be her own \* \* \*."

This is the germ of all the romanticist Don Juans,—I except that of Byron, who did not know the theory. Besides, Byron took nothing from the legend but the name of his hero; his Don Juan, a candid picture of the young man "*arrivé par les femmes*," and with no other wickedness than his pretty face, is merely the pretext for a long, unfinished series of pictures in which Byron proposes to paint the ways of the world and its hypocrisies.

But we know what brilliant variations Musset executed upon the Hoffmannesque theme. It is one of the most beautiful lyrics of our language, although as a whole it is rather confused, and the good fellow describes himself with little clearness. The poet, by the way, disfigures Molière's Don Juan, "the shade of a roué who is not worth a Valmont," and substitutes for this shade the following reality: a Don Juan, born tender and chaste, probably cruelly deceived while still young and who,



notwithstanding, has truly loved his three thousand mistresses ; but what ! “They were all alike to him, not one of them was Her !” And he sought, obstinately, in humble cottages, in houses of ill fame, and there especially, and in the cloister, finding only the hideous truth, and pitilessly destroying these unhappy women who loved him but too well.

Oh, massacre and woe !—massacre is indeed the word,—he loved them in return, but they could not fulfill his ideal dream, and in its pursuit, he lost beauty, glory, and genius.

For an impossible being, one that did not exist, he was engulfed with the commandant.

Marvelous symbol of man upon earth, seeking to raise his glass with his left hand and abandoning his right to that of Destiny !

And after seeing how much of Faust Hoffmann read into his Don Juan, we can see how much Musset added of . . . Musset.

This new personage, seduced as many times as he has been seducer, becomes more and more interesting. It is the same one that Hégésippe Moreau draws for us, capable of “scaling the heavens in order to kiss the bare feet of the Virgin Mary,” and whose spectre Gautier invokes : a kind of sinister old beau, his fingers loaded with rings, who naïvely regrets having demanded vainly of love the life that he could have demanded of science.

There is also the “Don Juan” of Pouchkine whose “Invité de Pierre,” is only a sketch but is full of action and force. His hero is honest. When Doña Anna, widow of the man whom he has killed, grants him a rendezvous without knowing who he is, he says that he is as happy as a child, and at the rendezvous, he weeps, confesses his burdened conscience, and swears that in Doña Anna he has found the virtue that he loves and before which he must bow his trembling knees. His repentance comes too late, however, and the statue of the husband (Pouchkine is the only one, I think, who has made the commandant the husband ; it is running the risk of lessening him too much), the statue, invited through bravado to come and watch at the door while Don Juan is inside with his wife, separates the dismayed couple and conscientiously fulfils his mission of avenger. But, indeed, the punishment seems decidedly too severe. It is too much to damn hopelessly a character whom one has invested with such beautiful sentiments. It is not Don Juan’s fault if his ideal does not exist in this world. Our romanticists have begun to insinuate that the wrong may very well be on the side of God. In any case, from this time on, they refuse to thrust their ideal-seeking hero into hell. The great Goethe had just set them an example, when, at the end of his mystic poem he raised Faust to

heaven. Romanticism, with its fatal manners, was a believer; it went even further than Jesus and dreamed of the redemption of hell, retrieved the cursed, saved those filled with darkness, and placed an aureole about the head of Marion Delorme. Surely, it was but natural to deify Don Juan.

Mérimée, who was not, however, tender hearted, led the way, somewhat ironically perhaps, in his "Âmes du Purgatoire." He disclosed—or invented—another legend, also originating in Seville, which made Don Juan a Marañá, and attributed to him, after a life of equal wickedness, an end quite different from that of Don Juan Tenorio.

On his way at night to carry off a nun from her convent, Don Juan meets a long procession of ghostly penitents marching beside a coffin; he inquires whom they are taking to burial and the reply comes, "Don Juan de Marañá"; it is, indeed, himself whom he sees lying in the coffin; he swoons and is restored to consciousness entirely converted. His penitence, which is admirable, is interrupted by a terrible incident. In the course of his former misdeeds he has, as is the rule, killed the father of one of his mistresses; the son comes to demand satisfaction of him even in the very cloister to which he has retired; Don Juan refuses to fight and humbles himself; the young man strikes him. At this insult the Spanish blood asserts itself, Don Juan forgets his robe, seizes a sword and runs through the body of the audacious boy, an episode which in Dumas' drama is the beginning of a fresh series of crimes, but in Mérimée's story this incident results only in a redoubling of the hero's tears and repentant macerations and Don Juan finally dies in the odor of sanctity.

The legend has a fine Spanish coloring, and inspired Dumas who did not, however, find in it sufficient material for his "Mystery" in nine tableaux. Among the other additions of his invention, he remodeled and perfected the idea that Hoffmann had given of the character of Doña Anna; Dumas desired that Don Juan should be saved through love and that this love should be celestial, and accordingly he invented for the family of the Marañá a guardian angel, who, in order to redeem Don Juan, begged permission of God to become a woman. The angel becomes sister Martha and does not, however, succeed very well in her task, for she becomes crazy and dies without having converted her lover, but, as the result of a quarrel among all the devils,—for the story grows more and more complicated,—the purpose which she could not accomplish while alive is fulfilled after her death, and her ghost wrests a cry of repentance from the mortally wounded Don Juan, which is sufficient to move the Most High mercifully to grant him peace.

After the "olla podrida" of Dumas père, whose verse and prose alter-



nate without either one having any real poetry, we come to that of Zorilla which is a no less complicated mixture. This interminable drama,—it is in two parts, the first in four acts and the second in three,—has had in Spain today the success of the primitive comedy. The work is lyrical and stirring and would seem to merit its popularity, if I may judge from the interesting book by M. Boris de Tannenberg on “*La Poésie Castillane contemporaine*.” The author himself would seem to think differently. He confesses that his drama, hastily put together, bristles with improbabilities and follies and that the character of his hero does not stand alone. He employs the action of every romanticist Don Juan and it was his desire by exaggerating each to blend them all into one. His Don Juan has reassumed the name of Tenorio, but this Tenorio is merely a Maraña in disguise; like the other, he assists at his own burial; like the other, he carries off a nun who, issuing from her grave, frees him from the formidable grasp of the stone statue and recalls him to God.

Accordingly, the play, like that of Dumas, ends with *the apotheosis of love*; that is the title of the last act, for each act has its own particular name, Debauchery and Scandal, Stratagems, Profanation, the Devil at the Gate of Heaven, The Ghost of Doña Inez, The Statue of Don Gonzale, etc., and the hero dies pardoned, his grave changes into a bed of roses where doubtless the mystic bridal is accomplished.

It seems that Tolstoi also has composed a Don Juan whom he causes to be saved through means of love and to take up his retreat in a convent, and Moscow is the retreat for his hero.

Thus all these quarrelers end by becoming lesser saints; a woman ruined the world and a woman saves it, and they all can join in the mysticus chorus in “Faust”:—

“The ever womanly  
Raises us to Heaven.”

This apotheosis of Don Juan, which would doubtless have caused Molière some surprise, did not take place without protest.

One condemnation especially is remarkable; it comes from a woman and this woman is George Sand.

There is, in her “Mystery,” in *Lélia*, a long chapter entitled “Don Juan,” wherein she attacks the romanticist hero, with all the blending of common sense and mysticism that is so often to be found in her work. It is *Lélia*, become an abbess, who patronizes *her daughters*, all disciples of the poet Stenio.

“Learn, my children, that in these times of strange despairs and unfathomable humors, Don Juan has become a type, a symbol, a glory, almost a divinity. Men please women by resembling Don Juan. The women imagine that they are angels

and have received from heaven the mission and the power to save all these Don Juans, but like the angel in the legend, they do not convert them and merely ruin themselves \* \* \* know that this absurdity of clothing the personification of evil with grandeur and poetry, is one of the most fatal sophistries that can be credited to mankind. 'She will rise up against this insolent fool.' At what time did God deliver over the world unto him? Whence came his pretended right to cause women to fall, to sacrifice their chastity to his desires, to kill the father or the husband, and to consider all this a mission?

"This infinite happiness which he reproaches women for not giving him, does he bring any of it to them? Not at all; and in exchange for the sacrifice which they make of themselves, he tells them not to expect fidelity from him. \* \* \*

"Beware! He will tell you that he suffers, that he longs for the heaven which rejects him, that you, and you alone, can make it possible for him to enter there, but he has already told these cruel lies and made these false promises to many women as honest as you are and when he will have defiled and destroyed you as he has defiled and destroyed them, like them you will be forsaken and registered as a date in the list of his debaucheries!"

She analyzes the noble longing for redemption that the women allege as a pretext when they go to Don Juan:—

"If any one feels this temptation, let her examine herself and she will see that her proselytism is merely a cloak for her vanity. It would be so glorious to succeed where all others have failed! \* \* \* Ah well, you are beautiful, you are persuasive, you are a privileged being, perhaps you will indeed make a mark in the life of Don Juan; he has never loved the same woman more than one day; perhaps he will be faithful to you for two days \* \* \* that would be a fine triumph indeed. People will speak of it. But what will become of you on the third day?"

And she predicts their fall, in the arms of another Don Juan, for the species is numerous; but never will they be loved; they cannot be, for Don Juan loves no one but himself. "Ah, how badly they have misunderstood thee," she cries to him, "those who have seen in thy fate the emblem of a glorious and persevering struggle against reality! Thou art merely a heartless libertine, the soul of a shameless courtesan within the body of a clown!" And she adds bravely, "If thou dost imagine that the women will not weary of this business, that because thou dost repulse them, they will love thee more and make a sanctuary for thee in their hearts because thou hast inscribed their names upon the archives of thy contempt, thou art a fool, Don Juan!" She goes even further and says, "Thou art a dolt!"

The apostrophe is categorical and it is doubtless the last insult that Don Juan could have expected. Perhaps it comes from a mouth forewarned, for Lélia speaks from past experience when she warns her daughters not to try to raise Don Juan into heaven. Nevertheless the invective lacks neither eloquence nor justice and George Sand as moralist, is right.



But this romanticist Don Juan, whom she so rightly condemns, has not lasted! He was not definitely incarnated in any masterpiece and he has disappeared with the movement of ideas which gave him birth. The theories, so dear to humanitarianism, of progression to the infinite, of the conversion of hell, and a regained Paradise, are discredited today and optimism is in a fair way to become ridiculous. Thus we have come back to the Don Juan of Molière. He is the imperishable stereotype from which have been printed the last proofs of the type, d'Estrigaud, de Mora, and the others of which I have spoken above. Yet Don Juan has gained something from his passage through symbolism. Frenchmen have a weakness for those who live badly, provided they know how to die well. Don Juan profits by this. The sympathy for him is enduring. But to deserve it, we should like to see him unbending. Incredulous like him, it shocks us to see him assume, even though he laugh at it, the mantle of Tartuffe. And carrying the apotheosis to the other extreme, we identify him more and more with the Devil, one who does not yield, who says *No* forever; one whom Baudelaire in his celebrated lines describes for us, in Charon's bark, followed by the *roaring* of his victims. The beggar wields the oars, the trembling Elvira implores him, Don Louis points at him with his finger, and the commander himself stands at the helm.

But the calm *hero*, leaning upon his rapier, watches the course of the boat and does not deign to look.

## VI.

Such are the essential incarnations of Don Juan since the time of Molière, and the cycle is not yet closed. The question now arises, did Molière, in order that his character should furnish so many transformations, describe himself to any great extent?

It has been said and not without grace,—M. Ed. Thierry in the “Moliériste,”—that Molière, who loved much, must have known the charm of budding love, so well described by his *hero*, and that there must indeed be something of his own feelings in the couplet on the gentle violence of beauty and the tribute instinctively due to all, “ou la nature nous oblige.” But how comes the author to forget? These lines are an apology for inconstancy and who was more constant than Molière? We know that if he had an eye for all the beautiful women, one woman alone finally held his heart, and we know only too well what she did with it. Let us, then, lay to Molière's account all the delicacy of the theory, but leave the egoism to Don Juan, for whom love, an affair, not of the heart but of the head, is merely the proud pleasure of victory, and who,

as soon as he has brought down his victim, goes on his way with the indifference of a callous hunter.

Where Don Juan and Molière meet in very truth, is when the former expresses his incredulity as to medicine. He speaks of it in exactly the same terms as Beralde in the "Malade" and it is, indeed, through his mouth that Molière attributes the success of doctors to the "favors of chance and the forces of nature."

It also seems curious to me to connect the scene of the Poor Man with the famous story of Molière's almsgiving. The beggar ran up to him, "Monsieur, perhaps you did not mean to give me a 'louis d'or,' I have come to give it back to you." "Keep it, my friend," said Molière, "here is another," and he threw one to him, turning away with the cry so often repeated, "Virtue, where is thy home!"

There is certainly an air of resemblance between the two scenes, but let us notice first that (by its date) the anecdote is posterior to Don Juan and consequently could not have inspired the scene with the Poor Man. And what a difference in the inspiration of the act! If Molière gave a "louis d'or," it was from pure generosity of heart; he did not wish to tempt the poor man, and when he doubled his alms there was joy in the action and admiration in his cry. Don Juan felt nothing of this. His intention was malevolent. He wanted to turn the beggar from his belief by his ironical remarks, "What! You pray to God every day, and yet God leaves you without bread! Oh, see, I will give you a 'louis d'or' if you will only swear." It pleases him to see this unfortunate man, who has nothing left but his God, deny Him for a "louis d'or." And the temptation is strong, indeed, for the valet, who believed, conspires in this instance with his atheist master; "Swear," says Sganarelle to the man, "there is no harm in it,—it isn't wrong to stoop a little if you can pick up a 'louis d'or'!" It is Sganarelle who says this; it is the voice of common sense, but there is something beyond common sense in Sganarelle. The Poor Man refuses, "I would rather die of starvation." "Come, come," says Don Juan contemptuously to him, "I will give it to you for the love of humanity." Ah! those words would be beautiful if he had not a moment before shown how little he thought of the man and what pleasure he took in debasing him! A noble speech, truly, and one that brings religious charity, which is deserving of heaven's sanction, face to face with the purely human charity for which it is sufficient that the poor man should be what we are ourselves. But as Don Juan says it, does it not rather mean, Come, come, fellow, I will give you an alms, not for the love of God, I am above all such humbug as that, but for the love of silly humanity, capable of sacrificing itself to its own



whims and chimeras. And, in my opinion, he is more the hypocrite when he utters these great words than in the fifth act when he asks his father for a spiritual director.

I cannot refrain from remarking, in passing, that the scene with the Poor Man has also been remodeled in our own days. In “M. de Camors” by Octave Feuillet, Don Juan,—for it is he once more,—makes the Poor Man pick up the money with his mouth from the mud, and when the poor fellow rises, all dirty, “I will give you another,” says Don Juan to him, “if you will give me a slap.” The Poor Man does not hesitate and bravely boxes the ears of the noble gentleman; then, when Don Juan presents the second piece of gold, “Thanks,” he says, “I am already paid!” Do we not feel in this story that many little things have happened since the time of Molière, the Revolution among them?

This Don Juan, who is ashamed of the abasement he has inflicted, has no longer the imperturbable confidence in his own social superiority that the grand seigneur of Molière felt; and the Poor Man, who no longer believes in God and whose need has caused him to forget that he is a man, remembers long enough to avenge himself, and he gives Don Juan the blow “for the love of humanity.”

Definitely, the speech of Don Juan, ironical in his mouth, sprung straight from the heart of Molière, who loved mankind and believed it capable of virtue. No one doubts today that, like his hero, he refused to believe in the “moine bourru” and even in the Devil. “But,” says Sganarelle, “you must believe in something.” What did Molière believe? Did he agree with Don Juan or rather with Sganarelle concerning heaven and another life?

He puts the jesters on the side of Don Juan, since, in his demonstration Sganarelle, winding himself all up in his own argument, falls and breaks his nose; but a broken nose is not an answer and Sganarelle’s reasoning is right. Some one has remarked that he quotes very nearly a passage from a book by Gassendi, Molière’s master, who was not an atheist and that he makes good use of the old agreement of final causes. And M. Janet has seen in the poor Sganarelle, “a lowly and humble defender of the treasures of hope and faith from the attacks of the violent young nobleman, who tears down more than he examines and who does not even know how to doubt.”

We know, however, that Molière was a free thinker. He numbered among his friends people of doubtful orthodoxy. But all those who were called libertines were not wicked, and there were strong, wise men among the number, such as Lamothe-le-Vayer, for whose son Molière wept. Cyrano made one of his heroes say, “I visited in France with

Lamothe-le-Vayer and Gassendi. The latter is a man who writes the philosophy of what the other lives." But these philosophers, as we can see from Cyrano himself, went very deeply at times into negation. How far did Molière follow them?

He knew thoroughly the philosophy of the schools and had little more respect for it than for official doctors.

"Le Barbouillé" already contains a rough sketch of Pancrace. We can also see the metaphrast of spite. Pancrace is an Aristotelian, and the questions which he proposes, recalling the "Chresme philosophe" or the "Pantagruel," are, according to M. Janet, very real questions of the scholastic philosophy discussed in the time of Molière and some that are still troublesome today. In the Pyrrhonian Marphurius, many have tried to recognize Descartes and his methodical doubts, and this seems strange to me, since Marphurius does nothing but repeat, word for word, what Trouillogan said to Panurge, in the indescribable consultation of the latter, "Ought I to marry or ought I not" and "will I," so gaily imitated by Molière. It seems to me that Molière, who was a realist first of all, wished here to jest a little at this absolute idealism, today again the fashion, which will not see anything in the world but illusions and willingly denies the existence of sorrow, until the time comes when some heavy blows and misfortunes, excellent arguments, force a recognition of reality.

Molière's ridicule was aimed only at this philosophy of the schools which Gassendi before him had called a "philosophy of the theatre." Molière had been a zealous Gassendist. Gassendi recognized no other authority than that of reason. The old distinction of a double nature in man, the one immaterial and thoughtful, the other purely corporal, seemed to him poorly demonstrated, "O flesh!" Descartes said to him disdainfully. Upon which he replied, "In calling me flesh you do not take away from me my mind. Neither you nor I are inferior to human nature. If you blush for humanity, I do not." We see that Molière has his own opinions; do we not hear him already, "Yes, my body is myself, \* \* \* rags if you will, but my rags are dear to me." It was Gassendi who made him translate the irreligious "Lucrèce." For the rest, although astronomer, physician, and mathematician as well as philosopher, Gassendi believed it impossible to grasp anything but the mere shadow of the truth. The truth itself, God has reserved. "It is," he says, "outside the limits of human intelligence." And so it is with Molière; we hear it in "Le Malade Imaginaire."

Looking at things in a philosophical way, I can imagine nothing more ridiculous, nor any pretence more foolish than that one man should take



it upon himself to cure another. For the very good reason that the energies of our nature have hitherto been mysteries which man could not penetrate, and because nature has laid before our eyes veils that are too thick for us to see through.

This difficulty of knowing things, Molière had already signalized in a very significant passage in "*Les Amants Magnifiques*," in which he attacks astrology, still very much in vogue during the seventeenth century. "What relation, what commerce, what correspondence can there be between us and the globes separated by such frightful distances from our earth? And lastly, where did men get this beautiful science? What God revealed it? or what *experience* formed it from the *observation* of the myriad stars which no one has ever yet been able to see twice in the same place?"

He does not seem disposed here to be duped: "All these beautiful arguments of sympathy, of magnetic force and secret virtue are so subtle and so delicate that they wholly escape my material mind"; within our own days his incredulity would have still more material upon which to exercise itself. "To transform everything into gold," he pursued, "to make one live forever, to heal the sick by mere words, to make one's self beloved by whomsoever one wishes, and to know the secrets of the future. \* \* \* It would all be charming, doubtless, and there are people who would have no difficulty in comprehending such a possibility; it would seem to them most easy to conceive. But as for me, I openly confess that my rude mind has some difficulty in grasping such a conception and I have found it too beautiful to be true."

He comes back to this theme, with more melancholy, in the "*Malade*," "at all times there have crept among men beautiful conceits which we come to believe because they flatter us and because it would be pleasant to have them true \* \* \* but they are not to be found when we reach *truth* and *experience*; they are like the beautiful dreams which leave us filled with despair when we awake, because for a time we believed them true."

Does it not seem, indeed, as though metaphysics and its sublime promises were, in Molière's eyes, merely dreams too beautiful to be true? And perhaps, in this sense, it would be true to say that, like Don Juan, he believed only that two and two made four. But why not go further and add that it seems to me there is a very significant restriction in these two little words which you may have noticed in the passage, "*The energies of our nature have, hitherto, been mysteries which man could not penetrate.*" Does not this *hitherto* seem to admit that man may some day see more clearly? And what is necessary for this to come to

pass? What he calls *experience* and *observation*, these two words have perhaps struck you as they did me. They prove, what I have already said, that Molière was a *realist*; I mean to say that facts and not words were necessary for him to deny as well as to affirm.

He scoffs at these Great Doctors who believe that they have explained something when they set forth that opium can send you to sleep because it possesses a certain dormative power. But through Diafoirus, he also scoffs at those, who, not desiring to admit either *reason* or *experience*, deny the discoveries of the century, such as the circulation of the blood and other opinions, which in their eyes were "of the same flour." But so far was he from laughing at real science, that, by a pleasant shifting about, there are many doctors today who are demanding that a statue be raised to Molière as the restorer of their art!

It seems certain from the quotations that I have just made, that Molière's curiosity kept him well posted in everything. Among the antiquated scholars who refused to believe in the discoveries of Harvey, was his own master, Gassendi, a fact that shows clearly Molière's independence of mind. We know that towards the last of his life he leaned more towards Descartes whose explanation of the world satisfied him better than that of his master, who merely remodeled Epicurus.

Molière was not, then, a negativist by resolution. He agrees with Sganarelle, I am sure, when Sganarelle cries, "There is something admirable in man," and if he is always talking about nature, if he desires that her mysteries should be respected, it is because, "she knows how to gently draw herself out of disorder"; it is because there is in her something divine.

Like Don Juan, then, he will understand if he is clearly spoken to, he will walk up to the ghost and *see for himself what it is* and *prove* with the sword of experience, if there is anything there. But Molière will not add further, as did Don Juan, "Whatever it may be, it is not capable of convincing my mind," for this is to prejudice beforehand the results of all research, to deny the authority of reality itself and to fall from Pan-crace to Marphurius.

Especially is he the opposite of Don Juan when that proud man cries, "It can never be said that I was capable of repenting," because Molière believed in the great moral law which Don Juan violated and without which all human society is impossible. Molière's real philosophy is that of society, of life. And what he thinks of this philosophy is shown so clearly in his work that we cannot be mistaken.

In "L'École des Femmes," which is also a school for men, we have his opinion upon education. He disapproves of ignorance and takes his



stand for impartial knowledge. He does not think (see *Tartuffe*) that, to be welcome in another world, one should consider this one in the light of a dung hill, nor that one should sacrifice to it one's purest affections, and he brings back Orgon to *human sentiments*. Neither does he want Armande's purified Platonism, this precious contempt for realities, not less contrary to nature than the Christian abstraction of Orgon. He does not want any one, under pretext of birth, to consider themselves beyond all laws, and he recognizes no nobility but that of virtue; but neither does he want virtue to be pitiless and render life insupportable; contrary to *Alceste*, he is of the opinion that no one has the right to break his lance in the face of all humanity; he demands that we should be merciful to human nature; he paints it as it is, but he does not blush for it, and no matter what is said, he loves it. Even towards the end of his career, bowed with cares, sick, disillusioned, and betrayed, we can see what lovely characters he draws in contrast to the hypocritical *Béline*, and the selfish, complaining *Argan*! Here is the bustling *Toinette*, so honest of wit, so compassionate of heart; the charming *Angélique*, so delicate, so firm and yet so tender; and the little *Louison*, so full of the delicious charm of childhood. It would seem that at the very moment when he ceased to fight, Molière's heart opened widely to whatever gentle emotions his goddess nature still held for him; and in the “*Malade*,” so full of our miseries, and where his brave laughter sounded so cheerily, he delighted to make his spirit pass through it like a new ray of freshness and grace.

He suffered certainly, but that did not alter either the impartiality of his outlook nor the firm temper of his mind. And to conclude, Molière, face to face with man, retained his kindly disposition till the last.

He thought, evidently, that whatever might be the affairs of another life, they did not change the duties of this one. He valiantly did his best, as he says, even to the end, reserving his strength to support his misfortunes and spreading through his work the inextinguishable gaiety of mind, superior to all the blows of fate, which his ancestor, *Rabelais*, had, before him, announced as the last word of philosophy.

# EMERSON AND GERMAN PERSONALITY

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EMERSON was, above all, an American; the love of his people was the controlling motive of his whole life; and if we were to express the great variety of his interests and sympathies by one central ideal, we could probably find no better name for it than American culture. Next to his own country, England occupied the foremost place in his affections. The history of the English people was to him not only the history of the life of his forefathers, and as such surrounded by the halo of romance, but it stood to him also for a most impressive object lesson, demonstrating the truth of the practical side of his own message, the teachings of self-reliance, tenacity of purpose, and common sense. It was through his delicate sense of artistic form that Emerson was drawn toward Italy and France; and no one who has read his estimates of Montaigne or Michelangelo can fail to see that, Puritan as he was, he had a keen appreciation of the genius of the Latin race. Germany was the only large country of western Europe which he never visited; the only distinguished German with whom he entertained a friendly correspondence, Herman Grimm, crossed his path too late in life to add much to his range of vision. For the greatest German of his time, Goethe, Emerson, in spite of sincere admiration, had after all only a limited understanding; whereas, against the manners of the ordinary Teuton he even seems to have had a natural aversion. Wherein, then, lies the justification for emphasizing, nevertheless, Emerson's relation to Germany? What side of his nature was akin to German ways of thought and feeling? What particular inspiration did he receive from the great masters of German literature and philosophy? What part of his own life-work has a special significance for the Germany of today? These are the questions which I shall attempt briefly to answer.

## I.

There is a widely spread notion that Germany is a land trodden down by militarism and bureaucracy. Independence of character and personal initiative, are, we are told, necessarily crushed out by governmental methods which force the individual, from boyhood on, into a system of complicated routine and make him a part of a huge, soulless mechanism. It would be futile to deny that the pressure exerted upon the individual by official authority is greater in Germany than in America, England, France, or



Italy. Indeed, there is good reason for thinking that this very subordination of the individual to superior ordinances has had a large share in the extraordinary achievements of German statecraft, strategy, industry, and science of the last fifty years. What I maintain is this. In spite of the intense supervision of personal conduct, of the supremacy of drill and regulation, of the overwhelming sway of historical tradition and class rule, in spite of all this there is to be found in Germany a decidedly greater variety of individual views, convictions, principles, modes of life, ideals, in other words, of individual character than in America. I do not wish here to analyze the causes of this remarkable phenomenon, beyond stating that one of these causes seems to me to lie in the very existence of those barriers which in Germany restrict and hem in individual activity. It seems as though the pressure from without tended to force to light the life within. Certain it is that the German, while submitting to external limitations which no American or Englishman would tolerate, is wont to guard his intellectual selfhood with a jealous eagerness compared with which the easy adaptation of the American to standards not his own comes near to being moral indifference. His inner life the German seeks to shape himself; here he tolerates no authority or ordinance; here he is his own master; here he builds his own world.

It is easy to see how closely allied was Emerson's whole being to this side of German character. The moderation and harmoniousness of his temper preserved him from the angularity, the oddities and eccentricities which often go with the German insistence on pronounced intellectual personality. On this personality itself he insisted with truly German aggressiveness. Indeed, it may be said that his definition of the scholar as being not a thinker, but man thinking,—a definition which is at the root of Emerson's whole view of intellectual life,—is an essentially German conception, and places Emerson in line with those splendid defenders of personal conviction which have embodied German thought with all its rugged pugnaciousness, from the days of Luther to Lessing and Fichte, and finally to Schopenhauer and Nietzsche.

A few of the most important manifestations of this German love of spiritual individuality which seem to me to have a special bearing upon Emerson it may be useful to consider.

What else but implicit trust in the supreme value of the inner life is it, if the Germans much more than other nations are given to expressing their contempt for appearances, if they have a delight, sometimes a cynic delight, in exposing shams of any kind, if they take the business of life with a seriousness that often seems to rob it of lightness of movement and the gracefulness of fleeting forms? Goethe's "Faust" is, in this respect

also, a true index of national character. As a work of art it is unwieldy, uneven, volcanic, disconnected, fragmentary, barbaric. Scenes of supreme lyric power, of elemental passion, of deepest tragedy, of ravishing poetry, go side by side with cynic raillery, allegorical stammering, metaphysical lucubrations, bookishness, and pedantry. The sensuous impression of the whole upon an unbiased mind cannot be but bewildering and disquieting. And yet there stands out in it all a mighty personality, a mighty will! The weaknesses, the falsehoods, the frivolities of the day are here unmasked! The real concern of life, ceaseless striving for higher forms of activity, endless endeavor in the rounding out of the inner world, is brought home to us! The very defects and shortcomings of the form reveal the vastness of the spirit which refused to be contracted into limited dimensions! That thoughts like these were familiar to Emerson, that his own habitual state of mind was akin to the temper here described, needs no documentary demonstration. But it may not be out of place to quote a few passages which show how fully conscious he was himself of his affinity to this side of German character:—

“What distinguishes Goethe for French and English readers is a property which he shares with his nation,—an habitual reference to interior truth. The German intellect wants the French sprightliness, the fine practical understanding of the English, and the American adventure; but it has a certain probity, which never rests in a superficial performance, but asks steadily, *To what end?* A German public asks for a controlling sincerity. Here is activity of thought; but what is it for? What does the man mean? Whence, whence all these thoughts?

“Talent alone can not make a writer. There must be a man behind the book; a personality which by birth and quality is pledged to the doctrines there set forth. \* \* \* If he cannot rightly express himself today, the same things subsist and will open themselves tomorrow. There lies the burden on his mind,—the burden of truth to be declared,—more or less understood; and it constitutes his business and calling in the world to see those facts through, and to make them known. What signifies that he trips and stammers; that his voice is harsh and hissing; that his methods or his hopes are inadequate? That message will find method and imagery, articulation and melody. Though he were dumb, it would speak.”

Closely allied with the German contempt for appearances, and, like it, rooted in the high valuation of personality, is the often praised delight of the Germans in small things. He who knows how to enter lovingly into what is outwardly inconspicuous and seemingly insignificant, he who is accustomed to look for fulness of the inner life even in the humblest and most circumscribed spheres of society, to him new worlds will reveal themselves in regions where the hasty, dissatisfied glance discovers nothing but empty space. “Man upon this earth,” says Jean Paul, “would be vanity and hollowness, dust and ashes, vapor and a bubble,—were it not



that he felt himself to be so. That it is possible for him to harbor such a feeling, *this*, by implying a comparison of himself with something higher in himself, this it is which makes him the immortal creature that he is." Here we have the root of that German love for still life, that German capacity for discovering the great in the little, which has given to our literature such incomparable characters as Jean Paul's own Quintus Fixlein, Wilhelm Raabe's Hungerpastor, or Heinrich Seidel's Leberecht Hühnchen, which even today makes Germany the land of all lands where in the midst of the bewildering tumult of industrial and social competition there are to be found hundreds upon hundreds of men firmly determined to resist the mad desire for what is called success, perfectly satisfied to live in a corner, unobserved but observing, at home with themselves, wedded to some task, some ideal which, however little it may have to do with the pretentious and noisy world about them, fills their soul and sheds dignity upon every moment of their existence. Is it necessary to point out that there never lived an American who in this respect was more closely akin to the German temper than Emerson? He was, indeed, the Jean Paul of New England. New England country life, the farm, the murmuring pines, the gentle river, the cattle lowing upon the hills, the quiet study, the neighborly talk in the village store or on the common,—this was the world in which he felt at home, in which he discovered his own personality. Here he fortified himself against the foolish fashions and silly prejudices of so-called society; here he imbibed his lifelong hatred of vulgar ambition; here there came to him that insight into the value of the unpretentious which he has expressed so well, "I ask not for the great, the remote, the romantic; I embrace the common; I explore and sit at the feet of the familiar, the low"; here he acquired that deep seated and thoroughly German conviction of the dignity of scholastic seclusion and simplicity, which has made his whole life a practical application of his own precept:—

"He (the student) must embrace solitude as a bride. He must have his glees and his glooms alone. His own estimate must be measure enough, his own praise reward enough for him. \* \* \* How mean to go blazing, a gaudy butterfly, in fashionable or political salons, the fool of society, the fool of notoriety, a topic for newspapers, a piece of the street, and forfeiting the real prerogative of the russet coat, the privacy, and the true and warm heart of the citizen!"

The natural counterpart to this high appreciation of seemingly small and insignificant things,—which we found to be characteristic both of the German temper and of Emerson's mind,—is a strongly developed sense for the spiritual unity of *all* things, a strongly developed conscious-

ness of the supremacy of the infinite whole of which all individual beings are only parts, a divining perception of the spirituality, or collective personality, of the universe; and here again is seen a point of contact between Emerson and Germany. How deeply German mysticism of the Middle Ages had drawn from this well of the Infinite, how strongly it had imbued even the popular mind with the idea of self-surrender and absorption in the divine spirit, may be illustrated by an anecdote of the fourteenth century attached to the name of the great preacher and mystic thinker, John Tauler. It is said that at the time when Tauler was at the height of his fame and popularity in Strassburg, one day a simple layman came to him and frankly told him that in spite of all his sacred learning and his fine sermons he was further removed from the knowledge of God than many an unlettered man of the people. Upon the advice of the layman,—so the story runs,—Tauler now withdrew from the world, gave away his books, refrained from preaching, and devoted himself in solitude to prayerful contemplation. Not until two years later did he dare to ascend the pulpit again, but when he attempted to speak, his words failed him; under the scorn and derision of the congregation he was forced to leave the church, and was now considered by everybody a perverted fool. But in this very crisis he discovered the Infinite within himself, the very contempt of the world filled him with the assurance of his nearness to God, the spirit came over him, his tongue loosened as of its own accord, and he suddenly found himself possessed by a power of speech that stirred and swayed the whole city as no preacher ever had done before.

This story of the fourteenth century may be called a symbolic and instinctive anticipation of the well defined philosophic belief in the spiritual oneness of the universe, which was held by all the great German thinkers and poets of the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century. Goethe, Schiller, Novalis, Tieck, Jean Paul, Kant, Fichte, Schelling, Hegel, however much they differed in temper and specific aims, all agreed in this, that the whole visible manifold world was to them the expression of the same infinite personality, the multiform embodiment of one universal mind; they all saw the crowning glory and divinity of man in his capacity to feel this unity of the world, to hear the voice of the world spirit within him, to be assured of its eternity in spite of the constant change and decay of visible forms.

Again there is no need of commenting upon the close affinity of all this with Emerson's views of spiritual personality. But, by way of illustration, it may be fitting to place side by side with each other two utterances, one by Emerson, the other by Novalis, upon the essential



unity underlying all life,—utterances which, but for the difference of style and artistic quality, might have come from the same man. This is Novalis:—

“Nature has all the changes of an infinite soul, and surprises us through her ingenious turns and fancies, movements and fluctuations, great ideas and oddities, more than the most intellectual and gifted man. She knows how to vivify and beautify everything, and, though there seems to reign in individual things an unconscious, meaningless mechanism, the eye that sees deeper recognizes nevertheless a wondrous sympathy with the human heart. \* \* \* Does not the rock become an individual ‘Thou’ in the very moment that I address it? And in what way do I differ from the brook when I look down into its waves with tender sadness and lose my thoughts in its movement as it glides on?”

And here is Emerson’s somewhat dilettanteish, but after all unerring, speculation:—

“The granite is differenced in its laws only by the more or less of heat from the river that wears it away. The river, as it flows, resembles the air that flows over it; the air resembles the light which traverses it with more subtle currents; the light resembles the heat which rides with it through space. Each creature is only a modification of the other; the likeness in them is more than the difference, and their radical law is one and the same. So intimate is this unity that, it is easily seen, it lies under the undermost garment of nature and betrays its source in Universal Spirit. \* \* \* It is one central fire, which, flaming now out of the lips of Etna, lightens the capes of Sicily, and now out of the throat of Vesuvius, illuminates the towers and vineyards of Naples. It is one light which beams out of a thousand stars. It is one soul which animates all men.”

As the fourth, and last, evidence of temperamental affinity between German character and Emerson,—an affinity resting, I repeat, upon the common basis of insistence on personality,—I mention courage of personal conviction and disdain of intellectual compromises. I mention this point last, because it seems to me the most important of all. It cannot be denied that in a country where every one is constantly affected, in one way or another, by that which the masses think, desire, or dislike, there is no greater danger for the individual than the lack of intellectual differentiation. Democracy is by no means the only, or necessarily the best, safeguard for intellectual independence. On the contrary, it may foster the desire in the individual to adapt himself to a generally accepted standard of opinion, to avoid frictions, to smooth down the sharp corners of personal conviction, to shun principles, to embrace opportunism. I cannot rid myself of the impression that American university and college life shows the effect of this natural tendency. There is a decided monotony of type, a prevalence of mediocrity about it. There are few

college professors who are more than good college professors, few that stand for some great principle, few fighters, few leaders of public opinion, few of whom it might be said that they represent the national conscience. It is different in Germany. The German *likes* contrasts; he *likes* friction; he *likes* intellectual controversy; he identifies himself with the cause which he represents, and since he loses himself in his cause, he does not hesitate to use plain speech, even at the risk of being too plain for some ears. I do not close my eyes to the defects which are the concomitant trait of this national characteristic. It has undoubtedly led in German political life to so bewildering a variety of inimical factions and party platforms as to make parliamentary government well-nigh impossible; it gives to German scientific controversy often a tone of personal bitterness and acrimoniousness which to outsiders cannot be but repulsive or amusing. And yet it is true that here are the very roots of German greatness. It is intellectual courage which has made Germany, in spite of state omnipotence and clerical supremacy, the home of free thought; it is the disdain of compromises which lends to life in Germany, with all its drawbacks, its oddities, its quarrelsomeness, its lack of urbanity, such an intense and absorbing interest; it is the insistence upon principle which makes the German universities the chosen guardians of national ideals, which draws into their service the freest, most progressive, and boldest minds of the country, which endows them with the best of republicanism.

Emerson was not a university man in the German sense. But of all American writers of the century none has expressed or lived out this fundamental tenet of German university life as completely as he. Indeed his whole life-work was one continuous defiance of the standards of the multitude, whether fashionable or otherwise. In his resignation from the pastorate; in his resistance against official obligations which would have hemmed in his free activity; in his advocacy of manual training for children, of the elective system in college studies; in his championship of the workman against the encroachments of industrialism; in his speeches against Daniel Webster and the Fugitive Slave Law,—everywhere the same free, undaunted, self-reliant personality, “a reformer” (to quote his own description of the ideal American), “a reformer not content to slip along through the world like a footman or a spy, escaping by his nimbleness and apologies as many knocks as he can, but a brave and upright man, who must find or cut a straight road to everything excellent in the earth, and not only go honorably himself, but make it easier for all who follow him to go in honor and with benefit.” And so it has come to pass that he unconsciously characterized himself and his mission for the American people in that noble passage of the “Lecture on the Times”:—



"Now and then comes a bolder spirit, I should rather say, a more surrendered soul, more informed and led by God, which is much in advance of the rest, quite beyond their sympathy, but predicts what shall soon be the general fulness; as when we stand by the seashore, whilst the tide is coming in, a wave comes up the beach far higher than any foregoing one, and recedes; and for a long while none comes up to that mark; but after some time the whole sea is there and beyond it."

## II.

Thus far we have been considering certain traits of character which reveal an inner affinity between Emerson and the German mind. But—as is well known—there is a more immediate and direct connection between the two. Emerson has a similar relation to the great German idealists of the eighteenth century as the Apostles were thought by the church to have to the Prophets. He is inspired by their thought, transmitted to him for the most part by Coleridge and Carlyle; he adds little to it that is original or new, but he applies it to the needs of his time and his people; and since he speaks to a free people, a people entering with youthful energy upon a career of boundless activity, he gives to this thought an even greater vitality, a more intensely human vigor than it had in the hands of his masters.

What were the main features of the new humanism held up to the world by the great Germans of the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century, by Kant, Schelling, and Fichte, by Goethe, Schiller, and Novalis? In the first place, an absolute freedom from traditional authority. Probably never in the history of mankind has there been a period when men looked at things from as broad a point of view and with so little bias. Humanity in the largest sense was the chosen study of the age. Everywhere,—in language, in literature, in political institutions, in religion,—men tried to detect the human element and brought it to light with all the fearlessness of scientific ardor. With this boldness of research there was allied, secondly, a supreme interest in the inner life. Man was considered bound up, to be sure, with the world of the senses, and confined to it as the scene of his activity, yet essentially a spiritual being, determining the material world rather than determined by it, responsible for his actions to the unerring tribunal of his own moral consciousness. In the sea of criticism and doubt which had swept away traditional conceptions and beliefs, this inner consciousness appeared as the one firm rock. Here, so it seemed, were the true foundations for a new religious belief, a belief which maintains that it is absolutely impossible to serve God otherwise than by fulfilling one's duties to men, a belief which considers the divine rather as the final goal than

as the preëxisting cause of life. And lastly, there was a joyous optimism in the men of this age which could not help raising them into a higher sphere. They believed in the future. They believed in eternity. They believed that humanity was slowly advancing toward perfection, that a time must come when the thoughts of the few wise men, the dreams of the few poets and prophets would become transfused into the life-blood of the masses, when the good would be done because it is the good, when instinct and duty would be reconciled; and they derived their highest inspirations from the feeling that they themselves were workers in the service of this cause.

It is easy to see that here are found side by side all the essential elements of Emerson's spiritual world,—his freedom from tradition, his deep interest in man, his belief in moral freedom and in the moral order of the universe, his pantheism, his optimism, his confiding trust in the perfectibility of the race. But it is worth noticing that in the application of these principles there is,—as I intimated before,—a decided difference between Emerson and his masters. The great German idealists, while embracing the human race in their thought, while glorying in the idea of a strong and free popular life, addressed themselves in reality to a small circle of elect spirits; these they hoped to influence; to them they adapted their manner of presentation; with the people at large they had little to do. They were, in other words, with all their democratic sympathies, at heart thoroughly aristocratic. The result is that German literature of that period, both poetry and prose, bears for the most part the stamp of a certain over-refinement, of studied culture; that it often lacks simplicity and the strong, direct appeal to the popular heart.

It must further be borne in mind that the condition of the German people at that time was one of utter political disintegration, that the very foundations of national existence were crumbling away, one after another, before the onslaught of foreign invasion, and that the task of the future was nothing less than a complete reorganization of public life. Whatever there is, then, in German literature of that time of popular appeal is dictated by distress, by the bitter need of the hour, and has to do with the death agony of a social order sinking into ruins, and the birth throes of a new order not yet fully formed.

Emerson, on the other hand, although his life was spent amid the most refined circles of New England culture, although his own utterances never fail to appeal to the finest and most elevated aspirations of the human heart, yet always looked beyond his own cultivated surroundings into the wider spheres of common, ordinary life. With all his aristocratic bearing and predilections, he was at heart thoroughly democratic. And



the people to which he gave his life's work was not a nation threatened in its existence, crippled, defeated, but a nation that only recently had won its freedom, a healthy young giant, teeming with untried power and latent vitality, unexperienced but perfectly normal, untouched by disappointment, a vast future in his loins. Is it a wonder that Emerson's application of German idealism should, on the whole, have been more sane, more normal, more vigorous, more genuinely popular, more universally human than German idealism itself?

Let me illustrate this side of Emerson's relation to Germany by a brief parallel between Emerson and that German thinker with whom he bears the most striking resemblance, although he was acquainted with his thought only through the medium of Carlyle's writings. Johann Gottlieb Fichte. There is no greater or more inspiring figure in intellectual history than Fichte's. In originality and constructiveness of thought he so far surpasses Emerson that the two can hardly be mentioned together. It is as men, as writers, as citizens, that they should be compared.

Fichte's historic task was this: to concentrate the German mind, dissipated by over-indulgence in æsthetic culture, upon the one topic of national reorganization. He felt clearly that Germany's future could be saved only through an entire change of heart. What had brought on the national catastrophe, what had made the ancient glory of Germany go down before the triumphant standard of Napoleon, was, to his mind, the unchecked rule of egotism; what was to insure national salvation, was, according to him, unconditional self-surrender. As he himself says:—

“The rational life consists in this, that the individual should forget himself in the species, sacrificing his existence to the existence of the whole; while the irrational life consists in this, that the individual should not consider or love anything but himself and should devote his whole existence to his own well being. And if the rational is the good and the irrational the bad, then there is only one virtue: to forget one's self; and only one vice: to think of one's self.”

This, then, was the appeal which Fichte made to his over-cultivated, over-individualized, and thereby disorganized nation. Whatever progress mankind thus far has made,—for there is progress even in decay,—whatever blessings of civilization we possess, it has been made possible only through the privations, the sufferings, the self-sacrifice of men who, before our time, lived and died for the life of the race. Let us emulate these men. Let every one of us be a public character. Let our philosophers and poets be conscious that it is not they but the universal spirit in them which speaks through their thought or their song, that it would be a sin against the spirit

to degrade their talents to the bondage of personal ambition and vanity. Let our political life be free from despotism and monopoly; let our social institutions be regulated on the basis of a common obligation of each to all. Let the working classes be made to feel "that they serve, not the caprice of an individual, but the good of the whole, and this only so far as the whole is in need of them." Let the rich live in such a manner as to be able to say, "Not a farthing of our profits is spent without a benefit to higher culture; our gain is the gain of the community." Let the ideal of a perfect society be the guiding motive of the age:—

"Nothing can live by itself and for itself; everything lives in the whole, and the whole continually sacrifices itself to itself in order to live anew. This is the law of life. Whatever has come to the consciousness of existence must fall a victim to the progress of all existence. Only there is a difference whether you are dragged to the shambles like a beast with bandaged eyes or whether, in full and joyous presentiment of the life which will spring forth from your sacrifice, you offer yourself freely on the altar of eternity."

In times of distress, in any great national crisis, this splendid appeal of Fichte's for self-surrender of the individual will prove its inspiring force, will ever anew demonstrate its imperishable worth. But it can hardly be denied that it bears the earmarks of the extraordinary and exceptional times which forced it from Fichte's mind. Its Spartan rigor, the demand of state omnipotence implied in it, and actually drawn as its consequence by Fichte himself, its tendency toward uniformity in education, its stoic contempt for the instinctive, do not make it a safe rule for all times and all nations, and therefore detract from its universally human value.

Emerson's historic task was this: to expand the consciousness of the American people, preoccupied with material prosperity, to a full realization of its spiritual mission. He did not lack penetration into the evils of the time and of the society surrounding him, nor did he spare the scourge of sarcasm and moral indignation in chastising these evils. What more drastic summing up of the degrading and belittling influence of wealth has ever been given than in his contrasting of father and son—the father a self-made man, the son a creature of circumstance:—

"Instead of the masterly good humor and sense of power and fertility of resource in himself; instead of those strong and learned hands, those piercing and learned eyes, that supple body, and that mighty and prevailing heart which the father had, whom nature loved and feared, whom snow and rain, water and land, beast and fish, seemed all to know and to serve,—we have now a puny, protected person, guarded by walls and curtains, stoves and down beds, coaches and men-servants and women-servants from the earth and the sky, and who, bred to depend on all these, is made anxious by all that endangers those possessions, and is forced to spend so much time in guarding



them, that he has quite lost sight of their original use, namely, to help him to his ends, to the prosecution of his love, to the helping of his friend, to the worship of his God, to the enlargement of his knowledge, to the serving of his country, to the indulgence of his sentiment ; and he is now what is called a rich man,—the menial and runner of his riches.”

And there are whole philippics against plutocracy contained in such sentences as, “The whole interest of history lies in the fortunes of the poor,” or in the lines:—

“ ‘Tis the day of the chattel ; web to weave and corn to grind ;  
Things are in the saddle and ride mankind.”

But Emerson did not find himself, as Fichte did, in the midst of a national breakdown. The social evils against which he directed his criticism and invective were concomitant phenomena of a national development, at bottom sound and full of promise. His message, therefore, while fully accepting Fichte’s appeal for self-surrender of private interests to public purposes, culminated not in the demand of concentration, but in the demand of expansion of the individual. To him as to Fichte the common welfare was the highest goal ; to him as to Fichte every individual, the farmer, the mechanic, the business man, the scholar, the artist, was, above all, a public servant. But this service consisted to him primarily in the fullest development of all higher instincts, in keeping (as he expressed it) one’s source higher than one’s tap, and in the freest possible blending together of individual activities. Nothing was further removed from his ideals than patriarchalism or state omnipotence ; never would he have been willing to entrust the training of the rising generation to the exclusive control of the state, never would he have submitted to the limitations of a socialistic community. To the last he adhered to the principle formulated in the best years of his manhood, “A personal ascendancy,—that is the only fact much worth considering” ; to the last he saw the hope of the future in keeping this spirit alive:—

“In the brain of a fanatic ; in the wild hope of a mountain boy, called by city boys very ignorant, because they do not know what his hope has certainly appraised him shall be ; in the love glance of a girl ; in the hair-splitting conscientiousness of some eccentric person who has found some new scruple to embarrass himself and his neighbors withal, is to be found that which shall constitute the times to come.”

May we not, without disparaging the splendid services of Fichte and the other German idealists, say that here there is a message containing more of universal truth, more wisdom applicable to the common, natural,

and normal needs of humanity, than is to be found in their noble and extraordinary flights?

### III.

Emerson belongs to the world. But it seems as though at the present moment there was no country which had a greater claim upon his services and a more urgent need of them than Germany. It cannot be denied that the great political struggles and achievements, the remarkable industrial and commercial development of the last fifty years have, for the moment, stifled somewhat the German genius, or at least diverted it from its spiritual flight. Our age has accomplished gigantic tasks. It has brought about the welding together of some thirty mutually jealous and distrustful states and principalities into one united nation; it has carried through a war crowned with unparalleled victories and triumphs; it has changed Germany from a prevaillingly agricultural country to one of the great manufacturing centres of the globe; it has made her one of the foremost competitors in the policy of expansion now dominating the world. All this belongs to the realm of fact rather than to the realm of the spirit. It has led to an over-emphasis of the will; it has blunted the feeling; it has crippled the moral sense; it has clogged speculation; it has brutalized personality.

Religious life in modern Germany is almost wholly latent. I do not doubt that it exists, not only among the thousands of devoted men and women who serve the church of their fathers in traditional manner and form, but, perhaps, even more among the millions who have turned away with hatred and contempt from rituals and creeds which to them have become empty phrases. But the fact remains that there is no form of religious life in Germany which could in any way be said to be a true expression of the national conscience. In ethical theories the average German of today, whether consciously or not, is a follower of Nietzsche. He believes in personality, but it is not the personality of the great German idealists of a century ago, the personality which is a part of the infinite spirit, a visible manifestation of the divine,—but the personality of the cynic author of "*Menschliches-Allzumenschliches*," a bundle of animal instincts, of the desire for self-preservation and self-gratification, the thirst for power, the impulse to create and to command. In the sciences,—both mental and physical,—the man of facts, the specialist, is the man of the hour; and whatever may be said in favor of specialization as the only sound basis of scientific research (there clearly is no other equally sound), the exclusive rule of specialization has undoubtedly given to our whole scholarly life something spiritless, narrow, mechanical.



Nobody has felt this more deeply and expressed it more clearly than Herman Grimm, the last great representative of the golden age of German literature who reached into our own time. He says:—

“We have the facts in our heads, we are flush and ready at any time to pay out in cash any amount of knowledge up to the limit of our drafts. But the marriage of our thoughts with the spirit which shelters them is a cool marriage of convention without communion and without children. Nowhere do we dare to draw ultimate consequences. What goes beyond the sphere of fact, of that which can be proven by positive evidence, is looked upon as dangerous conjecture. Only the unimpeachable is loudly expressed and that opinion is passed by with frowning silence which has no other foundation than the deep conviction of him who uttered it.”

All the foregoing, it seems to me, must have made it apparent why Germany at the present moment in a peculiar and pregnant sense is ripe for Emerson. Emerson, as we have seen, is allied to the German mind by a deep and close affinity. He has the German love of individuality, the German seriousness of purpose and contempt of sham, the German delight in small things, the German sense of the infinite, the German intellectual courage and disdain of compromise. In addition to this, he derived his highest and best thought to a large extent from the bountiful store of German idealism of a hundred years ago, and he enriched this thought and gave it still wider significance by applying it to the needs of a free, youthful nation. Now the time has come for Germany to receive from Emerson. Now the time has come for Emerson to pay back to Germany what he owes to her. Now the time has come for him to restore to Germany the idealism of her own thinkers in a purified, saner, and more truly human form.

This is not mere speculation. Emerson's career in Germany has already begun. No less a man than Herman Grimm first drew attention to him as one of the truly great, as a spiritual power, as a helper and comforter, as a deliverer from the cynicism, pessimism, and fact-worship of the present day. He said in one of his earliest essays:—

“Emerson is a perfect swimmer in the element of modern life. He does not fear the tempests of the future ; because he divines the calm which will follow them. He does not hate, contradict, combat ; because his understanding of men and their defects is too great, his love for them too strong. I cannot but follow his steps with deep reverence and look at him with wonder, as he divides the chaos of modern life gently and without passion into its several provinces. A long acquaintance has assured me of him ; and thinking of this man I feel that in times of old there really could be teachers with whom their disciples were ready to share any fate, because everything appeared to them doubtful and lifeless without the spirit of the man whom they were following.”

Grimm's genuine admiration did not remain without effect upon thinking men in Germany. Gradually but steadily the circle of Emerson's influence widened. Julian Schmidt, Friedrich Spielhagen were affected by him; even Nietzsche could not resist his personality. From the eighties on, two Austrian writers helped to increase his following: Anton E. Schönbach, to whom we owe the first objectively critical account in German of Emerson's work, and Karl Federn, who first published a comprehensive translation of his essays. Just now a second, and more ambitious, edition of Emerson's works in German is being published in Leipzig.

Meanwhile there has been gathering strength, independently from Emerson, a movement which is bound to draw still wider circles of German intellectual life toward Emerson, a reaction against the pessimism of Schopenhauer, the cynicism of Nietzsche, the soulless monotony of scientific specialization. Herman Grimm's own life-work, his incessant insistence on artistic culture, on a free, noble, reverent personality, was perhaps the initial force in this spiritual reawakening. But other and younger men have followed in his steps. The signs of the time are full of promise. The extraordinary success of such a book as Harnack's "Essence of Christianity"; the widespread influence of such a university teacher, such a wise, free, kindly man of ideals as Friedrich Paulsen; the devoted efforts of Pastor Naumann, of Bruno Wille, of Wilhelm Bölsche, and others, to win the masses back to spiritual hope and an enlightened faith; the new life kindled in poetry, the novel, and the drama,—all this is conclusive evidence that we are on the very verge of a new era of German idealism. And if it comes, there will come with it the demand: less Nietzsche and more Emerson; and a new intellectual bond between America and Germany will have been established.



# FINNISH LITERATURE

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THERE rings through my mind as I begin this study the line of the poet Franzen, the oldest poet of Finland, "Ne pleure pas d'avance le jour qui ne fait que de naître." It seems almost a prophecy today when his country is even more harassed and worn than in 1809, a gloomy time when war was devastating the "country of a thousand lakes." It was concerned with the same enemy, whose honesty, however, could not be doubted. They fought with swords, it is true, but they did not make use of poison.

May Finland not despair, however, but listen once again to the voice of her beloved poet singing from the depths of the past, "Ne pleure pas d'avance le jour qui ne fait que de naître."

May she remember the trials and tribulations out of which she has emerged victorious, may she think of the mysterious symbol of her own life in nature, the long winter when the sky is dark and cold but which is always followed by the radiant summer when the sun shines in the sky night and day,—may she remember and take courage.

"The time will come," wrote M. Ch. Gide, "when those nations shall be rekindled, who have kept alight, even in the grave, one little spark of life; we are forced to believe that some day there will be a Paradise on earth wherein according to justice all those nations shall be found who have succeeded in winning for themselves an immortal soul. And Finland will be there."

Is not the life and personality of a people best shown in their literature, is not this the surest way of making known their presence to the civilized world and of revealing their soul! Thus, by pointing out the magnificent efforts that the Finns have made during the last century for the furtherance of the art and the welfare of their country, I wish to assert my entire confidence in the future and its justice with respect to them.

## I.

The literary history of Finland, correctly speaking, does not date back more than a century. Tossed about, from 1400 to 1809, between Sweden and Russia, devastated by continual wars, ruined by famines and invasions, she had neither the time nor the occasion to make known her

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autonomous existence in any other way than by an heroic cohesion and resistance. Established in 1809, beneath the Russian protectorate, Finland understood that her fate was settled, that, for the future, her powerful neighbor and protector, having accomplished its aim, would esteem it an honor to protect its conquest and fight its battles; she felt that the time had come to lay down her arms and continue the struggle only with her plough and her pen, the weapon of thought.

Yet what a formidable loss of time confronted her as she considered the achievements of the other peoples of Western Europe; Germany mourned the recent death of Schiller and glorified Goethe in the apotheosis of his genius universally known; France guarded for herself the treasures of the century of Louis XIV., stirring the world by the clear sighted call of Voltaire and the Encyclopedists, and was so rich, indeed, in poets that she sent some of them to the guillotine to give scope, soon after, to the brilliant pleiades of the romanticists from Chateaubriand to Victor Hugo; England hung breathlessly upon the lips of that charming story teller, Walter Scott, enamored of her unique and delightful Byron, and strangely thrilled by the audacity of Shelley's thoughts; and Italy inscribed upon the list her famous names of Manzoni, Sylvio Gellico, and Leopardi.

How rich were all these peoples in comparison with little Finland who had nothing to offer to the world but the song of Franzen: "*Ne pleure pas d'avance le jour qui ne fait que de naître.*" But her whole soul was in this.

The hand of fate had been long in marking upon the dial of history the hour of Finland's awakening; at length the hour had come. She was able now to sing freely and superbly.

But literature does not invent itself; it is not made at the will of the first comer nor of the most skilful maker of rhymes; it is necessarily the product and reflection of the national thought; the poet does not direct his people, he expresses them.

Italy has given expression to the despair of death and the beatitude of the flesh, through her poets of passion, Dante and Gabriel d'Annunzio. England, cloudy and romantic, sentimental and gloomy, has produced "*Macbeth*" and "*On the Road to Mandalay.*" Germany, placid and intelligent, argumentative and full of the joy of living, lays down, with her importunate serenity, the problems of thought from Luther to Nietzsche. France, the land of sunshine and gaiety, dispenses her wit freely, from the dullest to the most lively, Rabelais and Anatole France. What was left for them, the Finlanders, whose atmosphere had not the brilliant coloring of a sky of Naples or Amalfi, nor the smiling buoyancy of Touraine or



a Parisian street, nor the somewhat heavy but kindly richness of the hillsides of Saxony and the monotonous delicacy of a Kentish landscape?

They had their native land.

The others might have wit, intelligence, spleen, or passion, but none of them had the Finnish lakes and the Finlander's love for his little corner of the world. Their poetry discovered its own originality; it was to be national. But a fresh difficulty arose. Two different languages were used in Finland,—the Swedish and Finnish. The people of the western coast who had been brought into constant association with the Swedish, spoke Swedish; they were the upper classes and were all related to the Swedish functionaries who, for five centuries, had governed the Grand Duchy. The great mass of the population, of pure Finnish or rather Tartar blood, still spoke and thought entirely in Finnish. The universities of Abo and Helsingfors taught in Swedish. Were not the future writers of the country to be recruited from their students, and was the literature of Finland doomed to be understood only by an eighth part of its population; was it to be a mere work of dilettantes, a modest and sterile branch of Swedish literature?

A great event caused this fear to disappear forever and brought about the realization of this motto, dear to the Finnish heart, "Two tongues and one thought!" This event was the birth of "The Kalevala."

## II.

The night descends slowly upon the lakes of Savolak, the darkness effaces little by little the clear cut outlines of the pine covered hills, the boats return one by one from their fishing and are left for their night's rest upon the shore. In the distance, the cabins are lighted, the rosy light from the windows streams out upon the moss, a puff of blue smoke issues lightly from the chimneys. The meal is just finished. The fishermen are silent. Soft music, almost imperceptible, preludes in a few minor chords. Two men sit opposite, holding each other's hands. The silence grows even deeper; they begin to sing. What are these strange legends that come from their lips? From what collection have they gathered these mysterious, majestic tales. To what mythology do these heroes belong whose names are constantly repeated? This was a problem to tempt a philologist. The honor fell to Elias Lönnrot, born in 1802, the son of a poor village tailor in a distant foreign region. This young man, by dint of hard work and obstinate purpose, arrived at the University of Abo. He soon took his degree and, longing to be of help to his friendless countrymen, he chose a medical career. Although

his reason and sense of duty led him to prefer this vocation, the love of literature had long been a real passion with him. His interest had been awakened by reading some publications of the Doctor Zacharias Topelius, concerning a few epic songs, gathered from the lips of the singers of the Russian Carelie. Eager to seek this poetry at its very source, Lönnrot went to settle in Kajana, far away in the North, in the solitude beyond the frontiers of civilization.

There he began the gigantic work which was to make his name one of the most beloved and venerated in Finland. Going from cabin to cabin, healing the peasants and the fishermen, with admirable patience he gathered together the stories that the sick people sung to him as a mark of gratitude. Soon he perceived that a thread of narrative ran through all of these runic songs and little by little, he pieced together the story and published it under the name of "Kalevala." The publication of this gigantic epic,—it comprises more than twenty-two thousand lines,—met with an overwhelming success in all countries.

The contemporaries of Alcibiades, suddenly discovering the Iliad and the Odyssey, would not have felt a greater joy. At last Finland had a national literary treasure, she had a past, a claim to intellectual nobility. But before we analyze this monument, henceforth to be historic, it would be well for us first to pause and learn something of its origin and peculiarities, for they alone can reveal the whole heart of Finland.

The Finnish people, like all primitive peoples, made use of oral tradition, in order to preserve their legends, an inheritance at once literary and religious. Education by books necessarily resulted in the disappearance of the singers of the runes, who were called *runviats*.<sup>1</sup> Lönnrot recalls these words of one aged singer, eighty years old:—

"Oh ! why were you not there, during the fishing season when we rested around the lighted brazier on the shore ! One of our companions was a man of our village, a good *runviat* but not so good as my father. Every night so long as the fishing lasted, they would sing, my father and he, holding each other's hands and never once would the same rune be repeated. I was only a boy then, but I listened with a greedy curiosity and it was in this way that I learned the principal runes. Alas ! I have already forgotten many of them. After my death, my sons will never be as good *runviats* as I was after the death of my father. They do not care today so much for the old songs as they did in my childhood ; they still sing at the reunions, especially when they have been drinking, but they rarely sing anything of value. The young people hum songs with which I would not soil my lips."

The men were not the only ones to preserve these traditions and the

(1) Finnish singers who sang the sagas and songs to the sound of the *kantele* or harp, thus transmitting them from generation to generation.



painter Edelfelt tells the story of a woman named Paraske, one of the last of Finland's singers, a story which illustrates the extreme traditional accuracy of these singers. When she came to a certain passage of the fifteenth rune, in which the mother of Lemminkainen bewails the death of her son, Paraske would burst into tears and evince every sign of the greatest grief. Since, in reality, her children were perfectly healthy and there was not the slightest analogy between her personal situation and that of the heroine of the song, Edelfelt was puzzled and asked her why she wept so bitterly. And old Paraske replied, "My mother always did so when she came to this place in the rune."

The singers are generally accompanied on a sort of cithara called a kantele. It is a triangular instrument, formerly strung with five cords and its music is infinitely monotonous and minor. The origin of the kantele dates back to the oldest antiquity, its creation forms the subject of many couplets of "The Kalevala," it is the magic instrument used by the principal hero of the book, the wise and powerful singer Wainamoinen. "The Kalevala" forms the very foundation of all the literary and artistic development of Finland, and we will study this poem, making the analysis as brief as possible.

### III.

The poem opens with a very poetic explanation of the beginning of the world: The virgin of the air, Luonnotar, daughter of nature, who represents the creative force, wanders for seven centuries through space. Her solitude and her inactivity weigh upon her, she invokes Ukko, the supreme God, who sends to her his eagle<sup>1</sup> and the bird makes its nest upon her knees and lays there seven eggs. The eggs break open and from the pieces the world is born. "From the lower part of the egg is formed the land, mother of all beings; from the upper part, the sublime heavens; the radiant sun springs from the yellow yolks, the shining moon from the whites; the speckled shells become the stars, the black shells are the clouds of the air."

Nevertheless, this world is a desert, it lacks thought and after a gestation of thirty years, when he has been tossed eight years upon the waves, Wainamoinen, the famous runviat, lands upon an unknown cape. There, helping himself with his elbows and his knees, he rises to his full height

(1) We may notice here the analogy between Ukko and Jupiter, who also uses an eagle as his messenger. This mixture of pagan and Christian traditions in "The Kalevala" is not the least of its attractions.

and contemplates the sun and moon, admiring the splendor of Ottawa<sup>1</sup> and rejoicing in the brightness of the stars.

His first care is to sow and cultivate the sterile island. In this rune there is a very complete picture of the methods of culture among the ancient Finns. Its fame is widespread. Youkahainen, a young herdsman of Lapland, jealous of the singer, challenges him first to a competition of song and then to a fight. The sage disdains his challenge, then, indignant at his slanders, bewitches him and plunges him into a swamp. Here takes place one of the beautiful episodes of the narrative. The poor herdsman bewails his fate at the bottom of the swamp; he seeks to soften the heart of the magician and offers him treasures:—

“J’ai deux arcs, deux beaux arcs sûrs et puissants,  
Prends celui que tu voudras.”

The runviat will have nothing to do with either of them.

“J’ai deux bateaux, deux beaux bateaux  
L’un court vite, l’autre est grand et vaste  
Prends celui que tu voudras!”

The runviat cares nothing for them.

“J’ai deux chevaux, deux beaux chevaux  
L’un est rapide comme l’éclair, l’autre solide,  
Prends celui que tu voudras!”

The runviat has horses that are even more beautiful.

“Je te donnerai un casque plein d’or,  
Un chapeau plein d’argent,  
Tout ce que mon père a gagné dans les combats.”

This the runviat despises.

“Je te donnerai tout le grain que je possède  
Toutes mes terres fécondes.”

The runviat owns much larger and richer lands.

“Je te donnerai ma soeur Aino  
Pour mettre en ordre ta maison  
Pour balayer le plancher de sa chambre  
Nettoyer les jattes de lait,  
Laver ses vêtements  
Te tisser un manteau d’or  
Te pétrir des gateaux de miel.”

The runviat does not reply to this, he sits down upon a high rock and sings three magic songs and Youkahainen comes out of the swamp.

(1) The Great Bear.



Here begins the romance of Aino, the most delicate and touching fragment of the whole book. It presents a study in psychology that does honor to its anonymous author.

When the young herdsman returns to his home he tells the story of his adventure. His mother, without troubling herself as to what her daughter may think, is delighted to have the celebrated runviat for a son-in-law. Aino, however, laments her unhappy fate. She has no desire to be married, to leave her parents and to give up the pleasures of her youth. One day, when she goes out into the woods to gather the branches of the birch tree, Wainamoinen appears and reminds her of her brother's promise.

"'Tis for me, and for me alone, oh! maiden, that thou dost wear a necklace of pearls and dost deck thy bosom with a buckle of gold and bind thy hair with a silken ribbon." And Aino replies, "Beautiful garments do not tempt me, I would rather dress plainly and eat hard bread in my father's house, beside my gentle mother."

She tears the buckle from her breast and pulls the rings from her fingers, the necklace of pearls from her neck, and the red ribbon from her hair and throws them all upon the ground, scatters them in the woods, and runs weeping to her home. They seek in vain to console her, and offer her new jewels; she runs away and weeps by herself. Her lamentations are often touched with a strange beauty.

"Ah! how much better for me had I never been born, never have grown up to know these fatal days, this joyless world, better for me had I died when I was only six nights old, and perished on the eighth day of my existence. How little then would I have needed! a simple piece of cloth, a little corner of the earth; I would have cost my mother but few tears, my father even less, and my brother not one."

"Why dost thou weep, unhappy child?" her mother asks. "I weep because thou hast promised me, because thou hast given me, thy child, to serve as prop to an old man, to give joy to the joyless, support to the feeble and guardian of him who spends his life crouched in a corner of the fire."

Aino now resolves to die and she leaves her home, walks three days through the woods, and comes to the shore of the sea. All night she weeps, sitting on a rock, then, when morning comes, she sees three maidens bathing in the water just beyond a promontory and she tries to join them but it is not long before she disappears beneath the waves. She sings one last song before she sinks forever within the unfathomable abyss, and her thoughts fly back to those she loves.

"Oh! never again in his life must my father come to fish in this

great gulf, nor my mother draw water to make her bread, nor must my brother ever again lead his horses here to bathe, nor my sister come to cool her gentle face."

A hare carries the news to her poor parents. Then the mother of Aino begins to weep. I cannot forbear to quote here this whole passage that the Finlanders call the "song of tears" for it is incomparably beautiful.

"The tears flow down from her blue eyes upon her sad cheeks, down from her sad cheeks to her beautiful bosom and from her beautiful bosom to the fine folds of her robe, they fall upon her stockings embroidered with red and from her red embroidered stockings to her golden threaded slippers.

"One tear falls, and then another, and from her golden threaded slippers, the tears roll upon the ground and from the ground into the sea.

"And from these tears, three rivers flow forth, and from each river falls a mighty cataract, violent as her passion, and in the middle of the cataracts, there are three islands and on the shores of each island rises a mountain of gold, and three birch trees grow upon the crest of the three mountains and in the top of each birch tree is perched a beautiful cuckoo. The three cuckoos begin to sing. The first cries, 'Love, Love!' The second, 'Betrothed, betrothed!' The third, 'Joy, Joy!'

"And the cuckoo that sings 'Love, love!' sings for three months, in memory of the maiden who knew not love, for her who rests at the bottom of the sea.

"And the bird that cries, 'Betrothed, betrothed!' sings for six months, for the bridegroom deprived of his betrothed, for him who is left a victim to bitter regret.

"But the bird that chants, 'Joy, joy!' sings his whole life long, for the mother who has lost her joy forever, for her who weeps without rest.

"And the mother of Aino says, 'It is not well that a mother bowed with grief should for a long time hear the cuckoo sing. For when he sings, the heart beats, the eyes fill with tears that are bigger than ripe pears, and more rounded than seed beans. Yes, life itself wears away, in a single year, the body shrivels to a mere span and the heart is rent when the song of the cuckoo is heard in the spring.'"

Wainamoinen learns the fatal news. He departs in search of Aino. He comes to the gulf in which his fiancée was drowned and begins to fish. One day, a strange fish bites at his hook, he prepares to cut it up when it escapes. It is Aino, thus transformed, who, before disappearing forever, curses the old singer for the last time.

The old man's sorrow is keen and very real. His lyre is silent; the cuckoos that sang about his door in the twilight, are all still; he weeps and cries, "Ah! if my mother were still alive, doubtless she would teach me what I should do to cure my crushing grief, to prevent me from yielding to despair in these days of bitterness." And the mother of Wainamoinen arises from her grave and says to him, "Go, my son, into the land of Pohyola, there wilt thou find another wife."

The runviat starts on his way but Youkahainen, Aino's brother, who



is burning to be revenged upon him, waits for him on the road and wounds his horse who drags Wainamoinen into the water.

He is tossed about upon the waves but an eagle at length comes to his rescue and carries him on its wings to Pohyola, his journey's end. Louhi, the hostess of Pohyola, receives him magnificently and seeks to divert him, but he is inconsolable, and wishes to return to his own country. Louhi offers to conduct him there if he will fashion for her a Sampo,—a magic buckle that ensures joy and prosperity to the country owning it. She will also give him her daughter, the virgin of Pohyola. But he cannot make the Sampo; there is only one person who can make it and that is Ilmarinen, the blacksmith. "He it is who fashioned the vault of the heavens, who hammered the lid of the air, so that the blows of the hammer cannot be seen nor the bitings of the nails." Accordingly, the virgin of Pohyola will be the bride of Ilmarinen, although Wainamoinen has still one last chance. If he can perform three difficult tasks, he will be chosen for bridegroom. Here we find again the legend of Hercules. The old singer is not successful. Ilmarinen, who in the meantime has entered the lists and forged the Sampo, is equally unsuccessful. A third suitor presents himself, Lemminkainen. He, too, is bidden to perform the gigantic tasks. He accomplishes the first two but meets his death in the third which is to kill the swan that swims upon the river of death. But his mother is watching and she starts on her way and, thanks to her perseverance and her love, she gathers together all the fragments of her son, and God, hearing her entreaties, mercifully brings him back to life.

The fifteenth rune, which contains this episode, is the most extraordinary poem that has ever been written in glory of maternal love. I will quote only the conclusion. The mother has gathered a few portions of her son's body from out of the river of death, but the task seems beyond her strength. She weeps and seems utterly discouraged.

A raven—representing the spirit of temptation throughout the poem—is perched upon a hedge and croaks to her, "Come, come, throw him back into the water, you can never accomplish what you wish, the trout have eaten his eyes, the pike have devoured his shoulders." But the mother will not listen, she sets to work once more and plunging her rake into the water, piece by piece she collects the whole body of her beloved son.

Then, with wonderful patience, she reconstructs him. She adapts flesh to flesh, bone to bone, joints to joints, and veins to veins.

She invokes Suometar, the goddess of health, and she invokes God himself in a wonderful prayer.

“Harness thy coursers, steer thy sledge through his bones, through his joints, his flesh, his dangling veins, unite flesh with flesh, veins with veins, pour silver through the channels of his blood and gold in the fissures of his veins. Give health to all those parts that are diseased and grant thy benediction upon them.”

And the blood once more flows on its way through the veins and the arteries, for this is the essence of life and is set in motion by God himself.

But the hero has not yet recovered his soul, he is dumb.

Then the mother calls Mehilainen, the bee, to come to her aid. She it is who will seek in the forests, and through the fields, and among the stars for the honey to rub upon the lips of Lemminkainen.

Three times does the bee fly up into the air, each time higher than the last, until she reaches the throne of God himself. There she finds the true honey, the potent balsam, which the Creator himself uses, which Jumala rubbed upon the lips of his own son when he was injured by the powers of darkness.<sup>1</sup>

The bee returns with the balsam of healing. Lemminkainen awakens from his dreams. “I have slept for a long time,” he says, “for a long time I have lain wrapped in gentle slumber, in quiet repose.”

And straightway he wishes to go back to his deeds of rash daring. His mother fondles him and rocks him, but no, it is of no avail, he longs to depart.

“My poor heart is not here, it wanders far away with my desires, with my thoughts, among the maidens of Pohyola, among their beautiful tresses. The old woman of Pohyola, with the pointed nose, will never give me her daughter if I do not kill the swan of the river of Tuoni, if I do not bring it back with me from the vortex of the sacred torrent.”

The mother of Lemminkainen chides him gently,—and it is the end of the story,—“Ah! leave thy ill-fated swans in the black waters of Tuoni, amid the roaring torrent! Return to thy home with thy tender mother; learn at last the measure of thy happiness. Render thanks to the God who has helped thee so beneficently, to Him who has restored thy life to thee, for never could I have succeeded without the all-powerful aid of Jumala, without the intervention of the true Creator.”

Then the joyous Lemminkainen starts on the way to his home with his tender, dearly beloved mother.

I wished to quote at length these passages for they are characteristic of the poetic movement and of the peculiar sentiment of the Finnish

(1) It is scarcely necessary here to call attention to the very visible influence of the story of Christ's resurrection. Throughout the whole of “The Kalevala” there is a very curious mixture of Christianity and pagan mythology.



soul, but we have only reached the fifteenth rune and there are fifty-one! Consequently we are obliged to pass by many passages that are equal in beauty with those we have just quoted, and content ourselves with sketching the general drift of the story.

While Lemminkainen is absent, Ilmarinen becomes the happy husband of the virgin of Pohyola and there is a long account of the splendidly celebrated wedding ceremonies. The mother's counsels to her daughter, the rather gloomy picture that she draws for her of married life, comparing it to slavery, saddens the young fiancée, but that she may not be left with this impression, a child, symbolical of love, interrupts the mother's counsels singing the "*Lohdutus Sanat*" (The Song of Consolation), and describes all the happiness of marriage.

Then comes the episode of Kullervo who is born to sorrow and misfortune. This is the most curious instance of that mingling of pagan and Christian reminiscences of which we have spoken. Like Moses, the child is exposed for three nights upon the sea, in a cask, but he comes out safe and sound; for three days he stands upon a flaming pile and, like Daniel, the fire does not touch him; he is hung to a tree, but when they come to seek him, believing him dead, they find him inscribing his name upon the bark of the oak tree.

In vain do they seek to teach him to be useful; the child entrusted to his care dies of ill-treatment; he is sent to cut down a tree in the forest and he destroys the whole forest; they beg him to construct a partition and he builds a wall that reaches to heaven; they hire him to thrash the rye and he reduces the whole harvest to an impalpable powder. They give him to Ilmarinen. But Ilmarinen's wife, who will have nothing to do with such a terrible slave, hides a stone in his bread. Out of revenge, Kullervo abandons the cattle to the bears and wolves and ends by leaving his wicked mistress to be devoured by a bear.

Following this episode, is the long narrative of the struggles between the country of Kalevala and that of Pohyola for the conquest of the Sampo, the magic buckle that ensures prosperity to whoever owns it. In the midst of the fight the Sampo is broken and falls into the sea, and one piece of it is carried by the waves upon the shores of Kalevala (Finland) assuring the eternal happiness of that country. Wainamoinen baffles the stratagems of all of his enemies and compels Louhi, the wife of Pohyola, to yield him the sun and the moon which she had shut up in a mountain of brass. Finally, in the last rune, we see depicted the struggle between Christianity and paganism. The virgin Mariatta gives birth to a son who, in spite of Wainamoinen's condemnation, is crowned king of Carelia. Then the old pagan singer departs from the land, but

leaves behind him his kantele and his songs to be the eternal joy of Finland.

Such is the great epic that Lönnrot patiently collected and rendered coördinate. It is fruitful and fascinating reading because of its extreme richness and infinite variety. And consequently for over half a century, artists and poets have successfully cultivated this fertile ground. The pictures inspired by "The Kalevala," and the poems enlarging the different fragments, are numerous, and there is no reason to believe that the source will run dry for a long time to come.

If we seek to define the distinctive features of this national epic, we are struck immediately by its aspect of tranquility. Homer delighted in tales of war and combats and the "Chanson de Roland" is full of descriptions of battles, but "The Kalevala" carefully avoids pictures of bloodshed and carnage. The Finnish heroes win their victories far more often by the power of song and of speech than by the sword. It is the wisest and not the strongest that conquers; he who holds the secret of *original words*.

This characteristic has its importance, and it explains, better than any other consideration, the present attitude of the Fins, who do not seek to resist the Russian oppression by any armed revolt, but rather by a strong, peaceful discussion of their rights. And is not wisdom bound to overcome mere strength?

To be sure, there are many inconsistencies in the narrative. For instance, Wainamoinen has only to utter certain formulas in order to transport Ilmarinen hundreds of leagues, but the magician himself is forced to borrow a horse and wagon to return to his home. But, can we not see in these weaknesses, beyond the very human lack of logic, a deep respect for the miracle? Miracles can be accomplished only amid particularly grave circumstances; their very grandeur forbids that they be used in a light and trivial manner. If Wainamoinen is all-powerful, he will prove it by deeds in proportion to his power and not by tricks worthy of a prestidigitator.

Monseigneur Dupanloup said, "we must believe in miracles but we must not invent them," for a useless miracle is destructive to faith.

If "The Kalevala" bears comparison, from an historic point of view, with the Iliad and the Odyssey, the Gods of Olympus being replaced by the magic songs and their interventions, it may be said to be more sentimental and lyrical than these poems. The examples we have quoted offer sufficient proof. We may say, speaking generally, that the most beautiful and complete descriptions in this poem are of the home fireside. This feature, so clearly marked in the beginnings of Finnish poetry, is



found more and more in the works of today, and proves the strength of the traditionalism which has allowed this little people to resist until recently all foreign invasion.

We have, then, in "The Kalevala," a summary of the latent tradition and a half real and half symbolical glimpse of the soul of the race.

But a great poet was still to come who would complete this treasure, who would determine in a more modern form, the aspirations of the nation.

This poet was Jean Louis Runeberg.

#### IV.

Descended from a family of peasants, and son of a sea captain, Jean Louis Runeberg was born in 1804 at Jakobstadt. His first impressions of life, those intangible but yet deeply engraved visions of childhood, were of the war of 1809. His country's distress moved him deeply; he dedicated his life to the salvation of Finland and his life-work was not in vain.

Runeberg has been called "the heart of Finland" and never was a name less emphatic or more just. Through him, Finland learned to know herself, to feel her national sentiment confirmed, which until then had been vague and impalpable. Weakened and demoralized by the war of 1808-9, she seemed to question if her thought was destined to be exhausted by vain regrets or if some terror in her future destiny was to annihilate her strength.

It was just at this time that Runeberg appeared, an optimist as are many of the great minds, singing of the war of 1809 not as of some overwhelming sorrow but as an heroic epic, a source of pride and courage.

He made the Finlanders see how their fathers, by their sublime resistance, had bequeathed to them not only a liberty dearly and loyally bought, but further, the duty and the right to defend that liberty.

He gave them what, until then, they had lacked: great heroes, great when seen through his epic verse and well worthy to be admired and followed. He said to them: "Because our history is short, it is not less beautiful or less noble than any other; our race is a race of brave men; because our soil is poor, it is not less worthy of affection and love, it is still our soil; we are privileged because, through centuries and through pain, we have kept our nationality intact; now it is for us to develop it and make it grow."

Directly or indirectly, he has uttered this teaching throughout his whole works, he sings of his native country, the peasant life, the Finnish

soil and blood. He has summed it all up in his celebrated poem, "Vart Land" (Our Country), which has become the national song of Finland, and I translate a few verses :—

"Pays! Notre pays! doux nom, résonne haut;  
Il n'est point de vallon, de coteau ni de grève  
Plus pres de notre amour, plus doux dans notre rêve  
Que toi, sol des aïeux, berceau de nos héros.

\* \* \*

"C'est ici qu'ont lutté les pères de nos pères  
Ici qu'ils ont livré, cramponnés sur ce roc,  
Les combats de pensée, et de glaive, et de soc.  
C'est ici sur ce sol, sur cette pauvre terre,  
Au temps de la clarté comme au temps du déclin  
Au soir désespéré comme à l'aube énivrante,  
Que l'âme finlandaise a joyeuse ou souffrante  
Vaillamment supporté le poids de son destin.

\* \* \*

"Pays des mille lacs, étonnante nature  
Pays de la chanson, de la fidélité  
Hâvre sur pour nos coeurs par la vie agités,  
Pays des temps passés et des grandeurs futures  
Chasse de tes soucis ton sort de pauvreté  
Sois libre, sois heureux et fort, d'une âme pure.

"Ta fleur dans son bourgeon est encore enfermée  
Mais le jour va monter des larges floraisons :  
Ta clarté, ton espoir, ta gloire à l'horizon,  
Sugiront de ta fleur par notre amour germée  
Et la brise, au ciel bleu portera parfumée  
La chanson de notre Finlande bien aimée!"

It is unnecessary to point out the great difference between this national hymn and those of other countries, which are for the most part full of war and bloodshed. In this hymn there is only the exaltation of the idea of the country, in its highest and largest form. Throughout Runeberg's entire work, there is not a single word of hatred toward the victorious enemy; the spirit of tolerance hovers over his most passionate, fiery songs. In the best known of his books, "Ensign Stal's Stories," an epic of the war of 1809, he goes so far as to celebrate the courage and loyalty of one of the enemy's chiefs, General Kulneff, who did the greatest harm to Runeberg's own brothers. The long poem ends with these verses :—



“ Il tira contre nous son glaive redoutable  
 Il sema dans nos rangs des deuils incalculables  
 Mais pourtant nous l’aimons contre et par dessus tout.  
 Son courage et sa foi le rattachent à nous,  
 Car par delà les liens de drapeau, de patrie,  
 Les forts ont en respect leur camaraderie.

“ Hurra! donc pour Kulneff, hurra pour son valeur!  
 Nous ne retrouverons plus un coeur comme son coeur,  
 Notre sang a coulé par lui, c’est vrai, qu’importe!  
 Dans notre assaut commun sa main fut la plus forte,  
 Mais c’était son devoir et son droit de soldat.  
 Et puis n’avions nous pas dans ce sombre combat  
 Un but égal au sien et la même espérance ?

“ La haine est pour le lâche, et pour sa défaillance  
 Nous n’avons que mépris, que reproche et qu’horreur,  
 Mais pour qui s’est battu, loyal, avec honneur  
 Poussons un fier hurra! joyeux et plein de flamme  
 Non pour fêter ses coups meurtriers, mais son âme! ! ! ”

Those who have suffered and have known the scourge of war will understand to what moral height a man must have attained to write such lines as these.

But patriotism is only one aspect, although perhaps the most important, of Runeberg’s rich and kindly nature. We must examine his purely lyric and sentimental poetry. His early works, in spite of their charm, afford only a relative interest. Openly influenced by Tegner, the great Swedish poet, and the lyrics of antiquity, Runeberg wrote of very delicate things with an impeccable style but he was wholly lacking in originality. It was not until later when necessity forced him to accept a position as tutor in the country, that, coming in contact with the peasants, he was impressed by the strength and beauty of their life. While preserving all the rude flavor of the earth in the pictures that he drew, Runeberg lifted his hero even to the sublime, delighted in glorifying the simplicity of the peasant, his pious, contented heart, his helpfulness to those poorer than himself, and in this way he encouraged their wavering energies, and was still the poet, the leader of his people, and a glory and benediction to the nation that gave him birth.

I wish here to quote a few characteristic passages. There are few poems more beautiful or more filled with emotion than the short poem, “Le Champ de Gaavo,” which I have translated. One must first get rid of a certain feeling of monotony in the cantilena which is rather displeasing to those who are not familiar with the character of the people

of the North. The repetition, the scrupulous replies, seem at first to overload the poem, and uselessly make it drag. But we must remember that the Scandinavian poetry is sung or repeated generally with a musical accompaniment, and the singer is nearly always followed by one who repeats his last words as if to inscribe the story more deeply upon the attention of the audience and lastly, among the Scandinavians, the working of the imagination and of the understanding is, if not slower, at least voluntarily delayed.

In order to believe they must feel certainty, almost absolute certainty, and their constant reserve is an attitude of defence against credulity or mistake. This serves to explain the slowness and the repetitions which shock the people of the South, who are quicker but more superficial. And now, having made these few remarks, we may let the poet speak.

#### LE CHAMP DE GAavo.

“ Tout près de la lande de Savijarvi habitait  
 Gaavo dans sa ferme visitée par la gelée,  
 Il cultivait son champ d'un bras vaillant  
 Mais attendait du Seigneur qu'il fructifia.  
 Il habitait là avec femme et enfants,  
 Mangeait en sueur son pauvre pain avec eux  
 Creusait dans son champ des sillons, le soignait et l'ensemencait.  
 Quand le printemps vint, la neige fondit sur le champ  
 Entraîna avec elle la moitié de ses semailles ;  
 Quand l'été vint, la grêle tomba  
 Et détruisit l'autre moitié de sa récolte,  
 Et à l'automne le froid prit le reste.  
 L'épouse de Gaavo s'arrachait les cheveux et disait :  
 ‘ Gaavo, Gaavo, vieil oiseau de malheur,  
 Prends ton bâton, Dieu nous a repoussés,  
 Il est dur de mendier, mais il est plus dur de mourir de faim.’  
 Gaavo prit la main de sa femme et dit :  
 ‘ Ecoute, Dieu nous éprouve seulement, il ne nous repousse pas.  
 Mélange ta farine par moitié d'écorce,  
 Je creuserai le double de sillons  
 Et j'espère que Dieu nous donnera la récolte.’

“ La femme mélangea l'écorce à la farine,  
 Gaavo creusa le double de sillons  
 Et acheta des graines en vendant ses moutons.

“ Quand le printemps vint, la neige fondit  
 Mais n'entraîna pas les semailles  
 Quant l'été vint, la grêle tomba  
 Et elle n'éleva que la moitié des récoltes.



\* \* \*

Pourtant quand l'automne vint,  
 Le froid detriusit ce qui restait.  
 Le femme de Gaavo se frappa la poitrine et dit :  
 'Gaavo, Gaavo, vieil oiseau de malheur,  
 Laisse nous mourir. Dieu nous a repoussés,  
 Il est dur de mourir, mais il est plus dur de vivre.'  
 Gaavo prit la main de sa femme et dit:  
 'Vois, Dieu nous éprouve, mais ne nous repousse pas,  
 Mélange deux fois plus d'écorce à ta farine  
 Je ferai des sillons deux fois plus profonds  
 Et j'espère que Dieu nous donnera la récolte.'

"La femme de Gaavo melangea deux fois plus d'écorce à la farine,  
 Gaavo creusa des sillons deux fois plus profonds  
 Et acheta des semences en vendant la vache.

"Quand le printemps vint, la neige fondit sur le champ  
 Mais n'entraîna pas les semences  
 Quand l'été vint la grêle tomba  
 Mais laissa la récolte sur pied  
 Et aussi à l'automne le froid  
 Ne toucha pas aux épis dorés.

"Alors Gaavo tomba à genoux et dit:  
 'Le Seigneur Dieu éprouve seulement, il ne repousse pas.'  
 Et sa femme tomba à genoux et dit:  
 'Oui, le Seigneur Dieu éprouve seulement, il ne repousse pas,'  
 Et pleine de joie, elle dit à son vieux mari:  
 'Gaavo, Gaavo, vite à la moisson,  
 Il est temps maintenant de vivre des jours heureux,  
 Il est temps maintenant de laisser là l'écorce,  
 Et de cuire du pain de pure farine.'

Gaavo prit la main de son épouse et dit:  
 'Femme, il n'y a que celui qui dans la peine  
 Ne repousse pas son semblable  
 Qui peut supporter l'épreuve.  
 Mélange par moitié l'écorce à ta farine,  
*Le champ du voisin a gelé cette nuit !*'

Thus there is mingled with the work of inspiration and of poetry a desire for moral influence and in this lies the true character of Runeberg's genius. History, like nature, is glorified by his touch in a resplendant flowering of kindness, devotion, and beauty. And in this respect I will quote one other very short passage, delightful in its descrip-

tions and sentiment, taken from an idyl entitled "Hanna." A commonplace story, truly, since it is merely the tale of a young girl whose father wishes her to marry an old bailiff, but she loves a young man, her brother's comrade, and finally marries him.

The young girl is relating the death of an old fisherman in the neighborhood:—

"One evening, I was wandering alone upon the river bank, attracted further than usual by the sweet scent of the birches and the strange flowers; at last, quite unexpectedly, I found myself standing near a cabin.

"The boat is drawn up upon the shore, the nets are stretched upon the pegs, the old man is at home, I thought, and I wished to bid him good evening before continuing on my way. I entered. Lying there upon his bed, all alone, he seemed asleep.

"His eyes were sunken and his cheeks were pale. Cold death, I thought to myself, has already laid its mark upon his face. Yet, as I carefully drew near to the bed, he raised his head as if he recognized me and wished to salute me. Then he sat up and asked for a glass of water. I ran to fill the glass at the spring and returned to give the water to the dying man. When he had drunk and I, without speaking, had withdrawn the cup from his lips with a trembling hand, he spoke. 'When you go out,' he said, 'leave the door open \* \* \* that I may feel once more before I die, the fresh coolness of the evening and see the green grass and the waves.' Useless as I was, I could not go away and leave this man without help at such a time. I opened the door and sat down beside him. The fresh breeze came into the cabin. Outside, the sea gulls cried and chased each other along the shore; the gulf was clear and there was scarcely a ripple upon the water save the shining circles made by the fishes as they played near the surface. Was it a smile that I saw flickering for a moment over the fast darkening face? Was it a ray of joy or was it merely an illusion? It vanished almost instantly, his head bent forward upon his breast and life slipped away with its train of joys and sorrows. I left the cabin, my heart heavy, and closed the door, and not until I was outside could I kneel and pray for the repose of his soul. The death of this old man did not leave any feeling of sorrow in my memory. No, it comes back to me rather as a vision of the lake, when, on a summer evening, the breezes have died away, the sun has disappeared in all its glory, and the waves, weary of trembling upon one another seem to rest quietly and become united, like a vast mirror."

Runeberg's work is not considerable but it possesses before everything that feature which renders a work classical, the conformity of genius to national aspirations. A work, and this, perhaps, may seem a paradox, does not become a part of the international literature unless it is wholly and openly national. No one was ever more English than Shakespeare and no one was ever more Russian than Tolstoi. The denationalization of the world, the suppression of the frontiers, the dream of a humanity united in speech and character by the fusion of the races and the suppression of countries, can only lead to an artistic and literary decadence, as certain as it would be deplorable.



The tendency to push to extremes centralization and unity is the most tiresome error of the present time and if the principle of nationalities forbidden by Napoleon III., caused this emperor certain political mistakes, it is none the less the strongest and most tenable idea of his unhappy reign. The progress of humanity can be brought about only by decentralization, and the republican principle that brings into action the provincial system or that of the confederation of states, assures and will always assure the maximum of happiness and prosperity to those that practice it.

Not only does such an organization benefit collectively an intelligent division of labor, but it allows of competition, which is only possible in a circle proportionally restricted, and lastly, by the necessity imposed upon the smaller nationalities to have resource only among themselves, it obliges them to determine further each day their own peculiar qualities and to bring to light their highest virtues and genius.

It is a great mistake to believe that cheerful individualities are predestined to such a degree that their environment has no or only an insensible influence upon them. There is a strong correlation between an artist and his time, between education, customs, political or social circumstances and the artist's inspiration; there is almost no example to the contrary.

If all existing historical documents of a period were to disappear suddenly the literary documents would suffice to recreate the moral and political history of the people.

Thus the work of Runeberg allows us to catch a glimpse of the Finnish people at the beginning of their upward movement, in the midst of their magnificent effort to realize the great hopes of the nation.

We have surveyed the first two stages, beginning in 1808 with "The Kalevala," in which we discovered the virtues peculiar to the race, and continuing from 1808 until the middle of the nineteenth century, the time of Runeberg and the early output of Finnish literature. We must now glance over the contemporary authors and judge of the results obtained since Runeberg.<sup>1</sup>

## V.

The effort made by Runeberg in view of a decisive awakening of

(1) I have wittingly passed over in silence the contemporaries of Runeberg, such as Topelius, Cygnacus, and Nervander, not because their work is without value, but rather, treating this study of Finnish literature in broad lines and not as a detailed history of the principal authors and poets, I am necessarily obliged to limit myself to the principal characters, to the representative men of an epoch or of a certain trend of thought.

the national conscience was destined soon to show its urgent and prophetic character. The hour of danger was drawing near, but this time the enemy would be confronted by a people conscious of their own individuality, united by a tradition which they understood and to which they attached themselves.

The writers and poets who were to come after this great leader, understood the nobility and power of their task and followed without swerving the social plan that he had laid down for them: to develop, through study, the moral virtues inherent in the race, to sing of the native land, and to glorify the idea of the country. Here again in the work of a certain man, do we find these qualities united. And if I give only the name of Juhani Aho and limit my remarks to him alone, I make the same reserves that I made just now in favor of Ahrenberg, Lybeck, Adolf Paul, Reuter, Helena Westermarck, Zilliacus, Minna Cauth, Reijonen, and many others who, indeed, are worthy of more than this simple mention. But I cannot pass over in silence another category of contemporary writers, not so great, perhaps, as Juhani Aho, but, like him, very typical and interesting because they are not the descendants of some family inheritance; they owe nothing to a university education but are the result of a century of ethnical development. They are not rare orchids, long and anxiously tended in the warm air of a hot-house, but lowly field flowers that no one has sowed or watched over, they have sprung up because the soil had been rendered fertile by incessant labor. I speak of the peasant poets.

During these last years, Finland has given rise to a great number of these poets and to me there is nothing more indicative of the intellectual development of the race. Until such phenomena are to be found in the lowest circles of its population a young people cannot with truth pretend to maturity. This is the sign that the permeation has been complete and that the great harvest is drawing near.

One of the most representative of these peasant poets is Pietari Paivärinta. Having one day broken his leg, he was for a long time forced to stay in bed, and, to occupy the long days, he began to write "his life." The son of an exceedingly poor workman and obliged to beg from door to door, he began at twelve years of age to earn his own living; he was married at twenty and with his wife, entered domestic service until, by dint of saving his money, he was able to buy a small field and to build a rough cabin. Then followed poverty and misery; the frost destroyed his poor little harvest. Thanks to his beautiful voice, he found a place where he could sing in church. His energetic character made him appreciated by his fellow citizens and he was sent as the



representative of the village of Landtag. During his political life, he became a drunkard and once, under the influence of drink, he struck his wife, then, overcome with remorse, he redeemed himself by practising total abstinence.

All this is told in his book. Three leading ideas stand forth clearly. The first is an apology for the small husbandry. Divided property assures the greatest amount of cultivation to the earth for each one struggles desperately in the little field that belongs to him. The second is a plea against alcoholism and the third is in praise of married life. The presence of a woman at a man's side in the struggle of life is the source of strength and happiness. Like all the peasant poets of Finland, Paivärinta is religious and his thoughts upon the duties and acts of life are charged with the principles of Christian morality. Love for one's neighbor is the very basis of social acts. Besides Paivärinta, there are numerous other poets: Heikki, an old farm hand, Filander, who bought and sold plots of ground, Meriläinen, the blacksmith, Juhanna Kokko, a forester, and Eero Lissala and Otto Tuomi, two peasants. Each one has given a most accurate picture of the life of the people and their work merits a special essay.

Juhani Aho, to whom we must now return, started in life as the son of a small country parson,<sup>1</sup> he was destined when still very young to a liberal career, he studied at the university, and became a journalist. His first literary works were faithful and brilliant studies of the life of the people. In his narratives, "*Quand le Père Acheta la Lampe*" and "*Le Chemin de Fer*," he portrayed with great cleverness and exactness the revolution of the peasants against modern inventions. Later, the circle of his observations widened. He took his models from the middle class. He produced "*La Fille du Pasteur*," where he draws the picture of a young girl, in a well meaning but narrow society, who is weighed down by a life utterly devoid of pleasure. A long sojourn in France, and the study of our French stylists, gave him the elegance which he lacked.

The Finlanders were, indeed, rather displeased by his sometimes violent naturalism, but they could not deny his incomparable talent for description. And they were soon to bless this writer whom, for a moment, they had repulsed. In the hour of danger, he showed himself to be an admirable fighter, bringing all the poetic genius that was in him, to the service of his country, upholding, encouraging, and leading his compatriots. Thus, more than half a century distant from each other,

(1) The Finlanders are all, without exception, Lutheran Protestants. This is one of the principal reasons why orthodox Russia persecutes them as she does.

at the very moment when their help was most needed, two poets came forward to take their place in the first lines of the battle. Victory rewarded the efforts of the first, why should she not smile also upon the second? And as I write these lines, I think of another poet who has gone from us, who also left his novels and his descriptions of social life, that he might come to his country's aid: Emile Zola. As we stand before the action of such men, we know better how to appreciate the nobility of the literary art; they have extended its horizon. Not only have they contributed to enrich the patrimony of the national glory, but they have further shown themselves to be as much, if not more, necessary than the politicians and the chiefs of the army. During the last ten years, Juhani Aho has written fifty short stories, keenly emotional and idealistic, which, rapidly spreading among the people, have rendered them enthusiastic and given them courage in adversity. It is a temptation to quote all of them, each one contains so much charm and nobility. Perhaps it is true, however, that to appreciate them one must be well informed of the slightest events of the contemporary struggle, with which they are closely associated by a very transparent symbolism. In "Le Conseil du Fou" (a story of the time of the Inquisition), the author alludes to the ordinances concerning the press,—almost all the papers have been suppressed on account of their criticisms of Russian politics. He describes a heretic who, in spite of torture, will not renounce his belief. The court fool advises the executioner to gag him so that he cannot protest, but this advice has an effect exactly opposite to what the inquisitors had desired. When the people no longer hear him cry, they begin to cry out themselves and the punishment falls; wishing to silence the voice of a single man, they raised the mighty outcry of the whole multitude.

How touching is the story of the old, dying mother whose son has been ordered to collect signatures for the great national address to the Czar. The son wishes to remain but the mother tells him to go; she has never been able during her life to do anything for her country and now she can. The son leaves her and the mother waits anxiously until the hour is past when he would have returned had he missed his train, then she dies happily.

How noble is this other story of the old pastor who, when he is ordered to read from the pulpit the new decrees that are ruining Finland, puts them aside and on Sunday reads to his parishioners the famous charta of Alexander I. at Borgo in 1809, in which he swears to bring liberty to Finland.

The Finnish flag has just been suppressed. Nevertheless, Juhani



Aho immediately improvised a wonderful poem. The flag was blue and white; he writes, "is not the heaven blue, are not the clouds white, the lake, too, is it not blue, and the sail of the bark that skims over the lake, is white?" There is thus a succession of brief poems and short stories, simple, almost childishly symbolical, but their influence upon the people has been profound.

The poet knew his people, he knew their persistent idealism, their thirst for heroic poetry; why should he not, through the distance of the ages, put in force again the miracle of Wainamoinen, who disarmed his adversary by the single power of his song? Alas! events have contradicted his hope. The measures of oppression are daily more exacting and more cruel. Finland will soon be no more than a geographical expression, but the magnificent efforts of her poets will not have been in vain. They have saved the soul of this little people. Russia may cut down all her trees even to the smallest bushes, she may tear up the young shoots, but, hidden in the earth, the roots are still alive, ready to bloom anew when liberty is restored; and I cannot bring this short study to a better conclusion than by quoting a beautiful passage from Juhani Aho, who is reflecting upon the future of his people:—

"Is not Finland similar to the Greece of former times and is not our people a new race of Hellenes; have we not our archipelago as the Greeks had theirs? Have we not struggled, as they struggled, against superior forces, have we not our Thermopylæ, our victory at Salamis, have we not saved the western culture? They had their Homer and we have our Kalevala, but our heroes are fighting for a worthier cause.

"Agamemnon, Menelaus, and Achilles fought to recapture Helen; Wainamoinen, Ilmarinen, and Lemminkainen struggled to win back the Sampo. The former took a city and destroyed it, the latter won the light of the mountain from Pohyola.

"The former gained their victory with the sword, the latter with the might of the Word, which will some day, perhaps, conquer the whole world. The strength of the Greeks did not rest merely in the victory of their weapons, but still more in their art, in their literature, and in the increase of their agriculture.

"And in these things also lies our own strength."

Truly, the poet is right; the power of thought surpasses that of arms. And faith in a superior ideal of beauty and justice is the only true leaven of immortality.

## SOME MONSTERS OF THE SEA

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**A**MONG the animals which from all time have excited the terror or the astonishment of navigators, and, on this account, have given rise to most extravagant stories, we find the octopus occupying the chief place. These beings have forms so strange, and they attain to so great dimensions, that the ignorant do not hesitate to put them in the category of "Sea Monsters," which is composed as a whole of "horrible beasts."

My purpose in writing these lines is simply to make my readers change their minds with regard to these beings which are calumniated and to show them in quite a different light. Of this family of animals there generally is known only a single representative,—the common octopus. On account of its ugliness, this poor animal has a deplorable reputation and excites, when spoken of, only a feeling of disgust.

Who, when spending a season at the sea-side, has not turned aside in horror as he met on the strand that shapeless, slimy mass, with long, reddish arms, covered all over with dangerous looking suckers, dragging itself along with great difficulty over the sand? This wretched creature is still more hideous when, gasping frightfully and looking like a horrible bundle of entrails, it is carried along hanging from the end of a fisherman's hook!

In opposition to the generally accepted opinion, and at the risk of being accused of a paradoxical cast of mind, I constitute myself the advocate of this hopeless case and I mean to demonstrate that, acquainted with only a single specimen, people judge but ill of a family in which are found animals charming, sociable, delicate, graceful, and upon occasion winning in their ways. To subject them all to the feeling of disgust inspired by the octopus is tantamount to an unqualified refusal to do justice.

I hasten to admit that this creature is hardly pretty amid the conditions in which we usually meet it; but (permit me the comparison), if in order to judge of the human race you went and examined specimens of it in a morgue or in a dissecting room, in an asylum for aged idiots or in a pathological museum, there is a strong presumption that you would form a rather unfavorable opinion of our æsthetics!

The case is the same for the octopus. To form an equitable judg-

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ment regarding it, you must go and see it at home, in its normal medium, watch it move about fearlessly at the bottom of some pool, among the rocks on the shore, where it has set up its house in the place in which the water is most transparent and pure.

Again we may observe it in those vast aquariums of the maritime stations, where we may follow its evolutions at our ease, inspire it with confidence, and even accustom it to come and take from our hand the food that we offer it. Then the spectacle changes and we very soon perceive that we have to do with an animal remarkably endowed judging from the intellect and the senses that serve it.

Anatomy teaches us, moreover, that the cephalopods are, among the invertebrate animals, the most perfect in every way; their organs are more complex and more perfect than those of many vertebrates; their brain, in particular, is of a much higher organization than that of all the other animals called inferior. They are provided with an admirable eye, as complete as that of mammals. This eye has a pupil which is surrounded with a golden circle, and, changing its expression at every moment, can be compared only with the splendidly expressive eye of felines.

If, instead of being untamable and requiring liberty as an indispensable condition of their existence, the cephalopods were capable of living in close captivity and of enduring a narrow prison, there is no doubt but that long ago they would have replaced in our dwellings,—and how advantageously!—the abominable red fish, that imbecillic and mournful being which, in the ocean of a glass globe, leads its dull existence without a glimmer of intelligence.

To realize what the family of the cephalopods is, we must not limit ourselves to the examination of a single one of its members; the octopus has numerous allies which differ perceptibly from one another but still have a family resemblance and are united by bonds of relationship that cannot be denied. Some are fat and others thin; some are graceful and elegant; others have a physique that shows to less advantage. Among the number are dwarfs and giants, tigers and lambs, hunters and anglers, just as in the human race.

I will not give a lecture on the anatomy of the cephalopods; such a lecture would be long, tedious, and inappropriate. Nevertheless, in order that the particulars that are going to be set forth may be clearly understood, it is necessary to indicate in a few words the parts of which one of these animals is composed and to state precisely certain essential elements of their organization.

Let us take the common octopus; place the body on its back in a

dissecting basin and note its eight large arms fixed on a big, round head, which is flanked by two prominent eyes. There hangs underneath a globulous body; a large transverse slit opens into a vast pocket which contains the gills, the organs of a very active respiration, into which the sea-water can enter in abundance. Above this slit we make out a wide but short tube resembling a chimney; this is the siphon or funnel through which the animal sends out again the water that has served for its respiration. Then, too, this siphon conceals the orifice of a gland which secretes an abundant supply of a very fine black liquid, a sort of ink which is emitted at the will of the animal. When the octopus quickly contracts its pocket in order to empty it, the water filling it is obliged to pass, under pressure, through the narrow orifice of the funnel; in this way the body is given a more or less quick recoil, according as the animal desires to swim more or less rapidly. This is the way that the octopi swim backward.

If the animal, at the moment that it is expelling its water, mingles therewith a drop of its ink, it finds itself at once surrounded by an opaque cloud which hides it from the view of its enemies. We shall return shortly to this point, an interesting one which is unparalleled in the entire animal kingdom.

Now let us examine the eight arms of this octopus; they are provided all along their length with a double row of suckers, and they converge toward a central orifice which is the mouth. The cephalopods use their suckers to defend themselves, to seize the prey upon which they mean to feed, and to crawl when they are not swimming. Each sucker is a kind of little cup with flattened edges, provided at the bottom with a moveable piston. If the animal, having applied its suckers to any foreign body, then pulls back the piston that constitutes the end of each sucker, a vacuum is produced in each and the adhesive force becomes very great. As each arm has a large number of these suckers, often more than a hundred, we may conceive the power with which an octopus can fix itself on a rock or on another animal, and the danger that there would be for a swimmer, if he were surprised by a poulp of a large size. But, happily, the octopi are not brave and do not attack man provided he does not molest them.

The octopi also make use of their suckers to introduce little stones in between the shells of the shellfish which they wish to devour and which are carelessly gaping in the depths of the water. These latter, not being able to close their shells again, are easily extracted by the hunter who regales himself upon them at his leisure, without running the risk of having the end of his arm pinched.



Furthermore, still availing himself of his suckers and his arms, the poulp throws out of the door of his dwelling the empty shells of the shellfish, the mangled carapaces of the crustaceans, or the bones of the fish from which he has carefully taken everything edible. And in this way he indirectly brings about his own destruction and his gluttony is fatal to him. For when one sees in front of a hole in a rock heaps of kitchen refuse (recalling from many points of view the *kjokkenmöddinger* of our prehistoric ancestors), one may be certain that the gourmand proprietor is at home.

The octopus is a very voracious animal, as is proved by the heap of bones which it accumulates, but it seems further to have a gastronomical weakness for its own species. In fact, if you put several octopi into the same aquarium, distributing food in it every day with such profusion that hunger cannot be alleged as an extenuating circumstance, you will find that the larger very soon fall upon the smaller and make haste to devour them alive.

But the octopi, in spite of their keen appetite, do not eat everything at once, but give some evidence of foresight. They collect provisions for days of want, and not infrequently there may be found at the bottom of their holes a rather large supply of living shellfish which they hold in captivity. And it is not the poorer molluscs that they thus put in their larder; they take care to choose only good sized muscles or other delicate fish for which a gourmand would pay their weight in gold. Perhaps, just as we do oysters, these epicureans of the sea fatten up select kinds for their gala day consumption.

The heap of detritus which the octopus has ejected from his cave is not yet entirely useless and may, in case of need, still render service and, when there is danger, be utilized for protection. If, by violence or surprise, you happen to extract from his hole the proprietor of the dwelling, he seizes as quickly as possible and by the aid of each of his suckers, a remnant of a crab, an empty shell, or a little pebble, then winding its arms, thus clothed with this strange armor, about its body as about a ball, it lies low; one might call it a hedgehog whose quills had been replaced by all sorts of strange substances. In this condition the animal presents a very curious aspect and quite a little skill is required to detect it beneath this harlequin's cloak which is an almost perfect disguise.

The suckers have no connection with the digestive apparatus and are far from being mouths capable of absorbing food. We must, then, relegate to the category of literary fancies Victor Hugo's exciting story, admirable, doubtless, but impossible scientifically, in which he describes

the battle of the octopus and of Gilliatt, the hero of the "Travailleurs de la mer." This improbable octopus, upon which the poet has bestowed extraordinary organs, is wholly the product of his own imagination. To be sure, nature offers very strange animals, but no one of them presents to the eyes of the astonished zoölogist so surprising an assemblage of incongruous characteristics as the cephalopod of which the great poet dreamed.

The mouth is in the centre of the arms. It contains a pair of horny mandibles, firm and sharp, hard and black, and very much like the beak of a parrot; these, moved by powerful muscles, constitute a redoubtable weapon even for a human being who makes a clumsy attempt to catch a large sized octopus. In the larger cephalopods these mandibles are as big as the human hand and they can give terrible bites.

The poulp seizes its prey by means of its suckers; it cuts it up by the help of its jaws; then finally, as the bits would still be too large, it reduces them to a pulp by means of a very strange revolving grater with which the back of its throat is provided. This brief description is quite enough to enable us to understand the biological peculiarities of the cephalopods; we may now try to follow them in some of their actions and in their more advanced and interesting manifestations of intelligence. We shall see then the difference between the hideous dead creature of which we spoke further back and the active animal whose deeds and movements are most curious to observe.

When this octopus is alive, it crouches in a corner of a rock, its eyes gleam with a golden light and jut out from its head; they are alert and, like two vigilant guardians, keep incessantly on the watch. The brightest hues give the colors of the iris to its skin; if any animal chances to approach, it bristles all over with papillæ, which give it a very repulsive aspect, and this so frightens the intruder that it makes all possible haste to escape, if it has not been caught already by the suckers of the hunter lying in ambush in this retreat.

When the octopus leaves a place, it lazily stretches its great arms out on the ground; its suckers move freely like so many little paws, and it then seems to glide along without any apparent contraction among the stones and sea-weeds. One would think it a round mass of adders crawling about among the sea-plants.

Certain octopi are of a dark color varying between red and black, between brown and violet; others, on the contrary, are a pink color, spotted with vermillion, lilac, or carmine. Let us give some passing notice to the *Eledone muscata* of the Mediterranean. Its skin contains an enormous number of glandules that secrete musk; its odor is very



penetrating and tenacious. This is probably a means of defence with which it has been provided. The carnivorous animals of the sea probably detest the odor of musk and avoid swallowing a being with such a repugnant odor. With chemical treatment this perfumed product may be extracted from the skin in rather large quantities.

The cephalopods with which we have dealt have only eight arms; there are those which have ten, two of which are longer than the others and are rolled up in a pocket placed above each of the two eyes. If any imprudent crustacean happens to pass within reach these two long tentacles, which unroll with the rapidity of a flash of lightning, harpoon him, reduce him to rigidity with their suckers, and then finally bring him to the mouth. The parrot mouth very soon breaks him up and the grater reduces the fragments to a purée which seems to be greatly enjoyed by the hunter, if we may judge by the unmistakable signs of satisfaction that he shows.

To this family of cephalopods belongs a very common animal, yet the general public is acquainted with little more than its skeleton. It is the cuttlefish (*sepia*), whose dried bone is given to birds in their cage that they may sharpen their beaks on it. This very light bone is nothing but a shell which, instead of covering over the skin, as in shellfish of the ordinary kind, is concealed under the skin of the back, and serves at one and the same time as a skeleton to give solidity to the body and as a floater to help it in swimming.

The living cuttlefish is a very curious animal; it swims, except in exceptional cases, by means of a slender, undulating fin, which acts like a screw and sweeps all about the body. Its movements are quick and graceful; its colors are variegated and variable; it changes its position with ease and turns around with agility; its arms are short and thus it differs considerably from the octopus. When an attempt is made to seize it, it sends, with very disagreeable accuracy, straight into the face of its pursuer, a jet of water blackened with a few drops of its ink. It lays big black eggs which it attaches in bunches to the marine plants and which the fishermen call "sea grapes." The comparison is not inaccurate, especially when the cuttlefish chooses a branch which has fallen into the sea with all its leaves and to this attaches its eggs. Aristotle was well acquainted with this method of laying eggs, and, several centuries before our embryologists, he described the formation of the little cuttlefish, which is developed under the shelter of this black skin. He thought that the cuttlefish laid white eggs and that by sprinkling them later with its ink it gave them this aspect of black grapes.

There are several ways of fishing for cuttlefish and some of them

are rather quaint. In certain regions a bit of cork is used which is cut in such a way as to give it approximately the shape of a cuttlefish, and a mirror is fixed underneath it so arranged that once it is put in the water scintillations may be produced by the movement of the waves. Cuttlefish come from afar and let themselves be captured by this snare. In other places a female is attached to the shore by means of a string passed through a little hole in the rear part of its bone; the males come from every place in the neighborhood to console the captive and one has no trouble in seizing them. The calamary (the squid) is another type of a very common cephalopod. It is a brilliantly colored animal with the slender shape of a barbed arrow, and is much sought for in the market-places, where it is sold in great quantities. It swims gracefully, waving to and fro its caudal fin, which resembles a butterfly's wing. With this appendix it can develop sufficient power to leap out of the water like the flying fish and it often lands on the decks of ships.

Some of these calamaries are more vigorous, are thick-set in their form, and are provided with powerful suckers and measure often as much as a metre in length. They are found frequently in the Atlantic Ocean.

All cephalopods are not like these which we have described, bare-skinned and devoid of protecting organs; there are some that endeavor to protect themselves and their young with a shell more or less solid. Such is the graceful argonaut; this charming little octopus, brilliant of color, secretes a ribbed shell, elegantly shaped, as thin as paper, and of the purest white color, and in this it floats on the surface of the sea or submerges itself, if the waves are agitated.

The ancients believed that the argonaut raised over the water, like masts, two of its arms, and that their thin membraneous ends became transformed into a pair of delicate sails. Then the wind, filling out these light appendices, made the skiff and its gondolier glide over the water. It is a pretty fable, but only a fable; the truth is that these flattened arms are used by the argonaut for secreting its shell and then for fastening it to itself. The shell is only a nest in which the young are developed and hatched out, and are thus carried about, protected from inclement weather and from the teeth of their numerous enemies, in this delicate cradle which the careful mother keeps nestled under her body and which she does not abandon for even a moment.

Another kind of cephalopod, the nautilus, also produces a very pretty and bright colored shell, the interior of which is formed of glistening mother-of-pearl and is divided off by partitions into successive compartments. The animal can, at its will, fill them with water or air, and this



permits it to submerge itself or to return to the surface with surprising agility. The submarine boats that have been made the subject of attention for some time past are operated by an analogous system.

The nautilus is now the only representative of a large family completely extinct in our days, that of the ammonites, of which innumerable specimens are found in the depths of jurassic and cretaceous earth. It is apart from my purpose to give an account of these forms which have disappeared and of which, although they existed in large numbers in the ancient oceans, we now know only the shell; I content myself with calling attention to the colossal dimensions to which these animals could attain, as well as to the infinite variety of their forms. What a strange spectacle the jurassic sea must have presented, when there floated on its surface a multitude of these odd and gigantic molluscs whose imposing remains are all that we find today.

In contrast with these beings provided with supple and agile arms may be noticed a big, heavy body which is sometimes found on the surface of the Atlantic Ocean. It has the general appearance of a big, floating cask and its aspect is hardly more elegant. It is reddish, gelatinous, and so soft that it cannot be pulled out of the water without breaking into fragments. It floats along inertly, is almost transparent in spite of its enormous size, and if it approaches the surface too closely it becomes an easy prey for birds.

All cephalopods have the surface of their bodies dotted with a multitude of colored points; these little organs, although very minute, are none the less very complicated. Thanks to them the animal can modify the color of his body, and this constitutes one of the most astonishing prerogatives of these molluscs. The apparatus consists of a little drop of living colored matter, which can contract or dilate suddenly and then assume the shape of a little star. They are called chromatophores and are of different colors, black, brown, red, yellow, pink, green, and blue. On one and the same animal we find chromatophores having several or all of these tints. The result is that if the animal happens to open all his yellow chromatophores, for example, he will seem to be wholly of a yellow color; if, on the contrary, he closes the yellow and opens the red ones, his whole body will become red. These changes of color take place very rapidly, often they are instantaneous, and, an essential point, they are absolutely subject to the will of the animal. The cephalopod is therefore free, not only to take the uniform tint that he pleases, but also to give different tints to the various parts of his body; at his will he assumes a spotted or a veined appearance, the most brilliant or the duldest of colors.

So intimate are the relations between the chromatophores and the nerve centres in cephalopods that, if we should sever, at the point where it issues from the brain, the nerve which directs the movements of these organs, they would immediately become paralyzed, and the cephalopod would be unable to open them. A curious experiment demonstrates still more clearly this connection between the chromatophores and the brain. If we sever on only one side the nerve of which I have just spoken, the corresponding side of the animal, being instantly paralyzed, becomes colorless. On the contrary, the other side on which the nerve has been left intact passes alternately through all the shades of yellow, red, or black, thus denoting the rage into which this operation,—a slight one, for the nerve is at the surface of the skin,—has cast our patient. This experiment is a very interesting one, and it is a strange sight to see this half red and half white octopus moving in every direction, and his contortions and costume remind us of the fools of the court of the period of the Renaissance.

This remarkable faculty of changing color is not found developed to so high a degree in any other group of the animal kingdom. It permits the cephalopods to hide on the variously colored bottoms over which they move and thus to escape the view of their enemies. When they crawl over a light yellow sandy bottom strewn with little pebbles, with the remains of shellfish, and with sea-weed, they open their yellow chromatophores, and they spot themselves here and there with white, green, and black marks, which imitate in a way to deceive everybody the various features of the ground. If the animal crawls over a dark colored rock, it opens its dark chromatophores and closes the lighter ones. This is what is called mimetism, the importance of which from many points of view has been demonstrated by Darwin.

It is by means of these organs, also, that the cephalopods express their emotions; if irritated they bristle, become quite red, and take on a most unattractive appearance, but if offered some choice and alluring morsel, the agitation in their chromatophores reveals the little thrills of pleasure that pass through their skin.

The play of these organs is often combined with that of the ink pocket; let us study this phenomenon in the *sepiola*. This is a diminutive cephalopod not exceeding four or five centimetres in length, very pretty and quite timid, and provided with fins that resemble the wings of a butterfly. When it lies at rest on the sand of an aquarium it assumes, thanks to its chromatophores, a tint similar to that of its lodging place; it thinks itself well hidden, and, in fact, we can see it only with great difficulty; but, in spite of all its precautions, it is betrayed by its shadow.



If now we introduce into the aquarium some other animal, for example, a fish, our sepiola perceives the intruder and puts itself on the defensive; it seeks to overawe a possible aggressor by an aspect which it tries to render frightful; it bristles up and opens its red chromatophores, and it rises on the bottom, ready to show its beak, if necessary. The fish advances toward it; working its fins, it remains in a fixed position under water, in front of the enemy, and then spreading to their full length its arms covered with suckers, it puts out its mandibles. At the same time, it sets its chromatophores going, and assumes a very terrifying aspect. But, as it happens, the fish is animated by decidedly evil intentions; it is big and strong and there can be no hope of putting it to rout; the best thing to do is to beat a retreat craftily. It is then that the ink pocket comes into play. The sepiola sends toward its adversary a jet of water charged with black matter, and then it quickly closes all its chromatophores; at once it becomes colorless and, consequently, invisible. The fish darts upon the little cloud of ink, expecting to seize its prey, and while it is endeavoring to find its way through the darkness the sepiola has pulled in its arms and has made good its escape by backing out.

So far we have spoken only of cephalopods of very ordinary dimensions, not exceeding a metre in length; but, as I have said farther back, there are giants as well as the dwarfs. First of all there is the *Architeuthis princeps*. Its tail fin alone is eighty-four centimetres long; the length of the body with the head is two metres, eighty-nine centimetres; two of its arms are nine metres; each is fifteen centimetres long and ends in a paddle seventy-seven centimetres long. Its weight is estimated at two thousand pounds.

Another cephalopod, the *Architeuthis Harveyi*, has a total length of fifteen metres, seventy-five centimetres; another specimen of the same species reached sixteen metres, seventy centimetres; finally, the largest specimen that has been measured scientifically exceeded seventeen metres, thirty-five centimetres. Almost all of these big animals live on the coasts of Newfoundland, on the Grand Bank, and off of Nova Scotia; they have been studied particularly by the learned American naturalist, Verrill, who has published very interesting works on these strange animals.

It is no exaggeration, then, to style these beings giants. There are almost no animals in nature that surpass in size these cephalopods. What an enormous weight they must attain! What an odd and terrifying sight it must be to see these big red bodies moving their long arms on the surface of the water and sending forth with a loud report torrents of black ink. Is it not quite natural that the imagination of sailors has been

deeply impressed by the sight of such monsters and that in their accounts they have improved still more on the dimensions, already so enormous, of the monsters with which they met? So it is that we see the naturalists of past ages give in their works astonishing accounts of the misdeeds of the great poulp, of the giant octopus, of the kraken, of the great sea-serpent. The colossal poulp has been pictured perpetrating an abominable massacre of sailors and even destroying their vessels.

As a curiosity and as a sample of these horrifying descriptions, I call to the attention of my readers a plate in a treatise on natural history by Denys de Montfort, in 1801, which represents the wreck of a great three-master; both vessel and contents are about to be swallowed bodily by an octopus whose arms rise above the mainmast. The picture is as amusing as it is horrible; but happily no cephalopod ever caused so terrible a disaster. Let us hasten to add that, as the author himself acknowledges, the crime was but merely attempted, and the crew, happy in their escape from the mandibles and the grater of the great poulp, deposited in the Cathedral of Saint Malo, by way of homage to Saint Thomas, an *ex-voto* painting of the tragedy at which we have been present in imagination.

This giant, however, was of but trifling importance in comparison with those whose memorable exploits Pliny and Bishop Pontoppidan have related to us. How small those poor little creatures seventeen metres long of which we spoke a little while ago would appear beside these monsters!

Here are a few passages in which these authors narrate some hardly veracious facts. Here is one by Pliny:—

“A gigantic poulp was reported to have come to the shore of Carthage to plunder the fish-ponds, and to have put the dogs to flight by means of its arms and of the roars to which it gave utterance. The head of the animal, which was shown to Lucullus, was of the size of a cask of the capacity of fifteen amphoræ, and its arms, which a man could hardly encircle with his, measured thirty feet in length and had on them suckers that could hold an urn of water.”

Here, now, is the story of Pontoppidan:—

“Out of the waves emerges a vast and uneven surface whose diameter measures half a league and whose height often rises thirty feet above the water. In the depressions due to the unevenness of the surface of the back of the monster there remains water in which fish may be seen jumping about. Soon the mounds and the hills of this factitious island rise more abruptly, and, on the inside and the outside, there are seen erected, like the horns of a snail, arms more powerful than the mightiest masts of the largest vessels. They are strong enough to seize a vessel able to carry a hundred cannon, and drag it down into the depths. They stretch out in every direction,



intertwine with one another, sink toward the surface of the waves and rise again, and they possess as much agility as the arms of any other animal."

Whatever Pliny and Bishop Pontoppidan may think about the matter, and in spite of the votive offering of our Saint Malo sailors, I have a very limited degree of confidence in their reports; there is, in fact, no authentic instance of the destruction by a cephalopod of any vessel, however small. At all events we may bathe on our sea-shores without having to dread any such encounters, for these giants live only in the deep sea.

The cephalopods are carnivorous animals, but many of them, ill fitted to engage in hunting on a large scale, have to content themselves with prey more easily obtained, such as crabs and the shellfish which they find in holes in the rocks or while crawling on the bottom. It is thus that the common poulp, an indifferently good swimmer, gets its food. But those that live in the deep sea, constantly swimming about, have to pursue a prey which also swims about and which must be seized rapidly as it passes. In them the suckers become redoubtable weapons; a circle of horn provided with teeth-like steel reinforces them and converts them into a veritable punch. Often one of the teeth projects beyond the others and takes the form of a hook, which, in appearance and in its use, is a veritable fish-hook. In the large species these hooks surpass in strength and in dimensions the hooked claws of the most ferocious carnivora such as tigers and lions. In his last cruise to the Azores Islands, the Prince of Monaco captured one of these gigantic animals, and each of its ten arms had more than a hundred enormous talons.

Certain cephalopods, in order to complete their war-like array, put on a rather well arranged coat of mail; a remarkable specimen of these animals, attaining a very great size, was also captured by the Prince of Monaco. Its cuirass and its hooks did not preserve it, however, from the attacks of a monster that was larger and more solid, for it was found in the stomach of a sperm whale twenty-two metres long, which, at the moment when it was taken, had just breakfasted upon half a dozen of these enormous cephalopods, after having bitten off their heads.

I call to the notice of those of my readers who are fond of stirring accounts of great hunting expeditions the article recently published in the "Nouvelle Revue" by the Prince of Monaco. In it they will find a harrowing description of the death struggle of a sperm whale and the dramatic stages of its capture; they will learn with pleasure of the scientific results of importance that were obtained by this catch and of the curious cephalopods, entirely unknown hitherto, found by the Prince in the stomach of the sperm whale, which, moreover, bore on its skin the deep

imprints of the sharp suckers of the octopi with which it had done battle.

Among octopi, as among human beings, there are those who do not care for the fatiguing pleasures of the chase. There are people and there are octopi of a more modest and more easy-going disposition, who prefer the thrilling delights, so to speak, of angling. A man will sit down and often fall asleep on the bank of a river; the poulp will float along on his back, calmly following the current. This fisher, a devotee, as you may see, of the *dolce far niente*, is very pretty and quite diminutive; its body hardly exceeds fifteen to twenty centimetres in length; it is remarkably transparent, and its whole body is brightly tinted by an azure color with shades of pink and mother-of-pearl; one might think that it had come out of some artistic glass factory of Venice. When it is swimming, it is almost invisible, so well does it blend with the blue of the water of the sea. This frail and delicate swimmer is provided with two long, slender tentacles, which have at their end a whole series of little fish-hooks. This is its fish-line. To attract the little animals that it seeks to capture, it causes to scintillate, by the help of its chromatophores, the little silvery pellets that are arranged all along its arms; each of these pellets is flanked by an invisible sucker, armed with sharp hooks, which seizes the unwary intruder as he comes to snap at one of the bright pellets.

But our fisherman is not content with his line, he fishes also with a net. All along his tentacles are distributed tufts of sticky filaments, interwoven one with another, constantly moving about in the water, and these entangle and catch the little crustaceans and the minute fish which the bright pellets have attracted within the radius of the tentacles. From time to time our animal, thinking its catch sufficient and that its nets are properly stocked, carries the tentacles one by one to its mouth and carefully picks them over with the tips of its lips.

All the cephalopods do not live, like the one that we have just seen, on the surface of the sea and in broad daylight. There are some which, preferring the darkness, pass the day in holes in the rocks and only come out of them in the evening or at night. There are others which live under the water, at a moderate depth where the light is greatly attenuated and where the blue color prevails. Finally, certain of them never leave a depth of several hundreds and even several thousands of metres, and they know nothing of the light of the sun. Nevertheless they have very big and very well formed eyes. We must conclude, then, that in these frightful depths the night is not as densely dark as one might think, for in that case their eyes would be of no use and it is contrary to the laws of nature to develop useless organs.

We have the proof that in the absolute darkness of great sub-



marine depths, a multitude of beings which, on the coast, emit no light, become brightly phosphorescent and illumine the bottom of the ocean, shedding around about them a brilliant light. We have seen them after they have been brought up from their gloomy abode by the dredging machines still sparkling with green and blue flashes on the deck of the ship.

The cephalopods of great depths show the same peculiarity; many of them possess numerous and well perfected organs productive of light, which are lacking in the shore and the pelagic species.

In the month of September there is caught in the deep water of the open sea opposite Nice, at a distance of about one thousand metres, a strange cephalopod; its arms are bound together by membranes of a deep red color, and its body is strewn all over with fine blue spots, which are nothing but luminous organs. Verany is the only naturalist who has had the good fortune to see these animals alive, and this is his description of the capture of one of them:—

“I was called by a fisherman who showed me one clinging to the net; I had it taken and thrown into a bucket of water. It was at this moment that I enjoyed the marvelous spectacle of the brilliant points that adorn the skin of this cephalopod, already so remarkable for its form; it was now the lustre of the sapphire that dazzled me; now the opaline tints of the topaz that made it most remarkable; and again these two rich colors blended together their splendid rays. During the night, the opaline points emitted a phosphorescent gleam, which makes this mollusc one of the most brilliant productions of nature.”

Verany's description is perhaps a little too rhetorical, but it is strictly true and in accord with what is shown by the dissection of these organs of light. It would take too long to explain their structure, and I cannot better convey an idea of it than by comparing it to a bicycle lantern with its focus of light, its silvered reflector, and its converging lens. The animal has at least a hundred of these little lanterns. Picture to yourself in imagination the fantastic appearance of this animal, as it steers its way about, like a meteor flashing at night, through the dense and absolute blackness of the sea-depths.

Some cephalopods show, also, a little piece of apparatus which is truly singular; it is a kind of eye intended, not for the perception of rays of light, but rather of rays of heat; it is, so to speak, a portable thermometer which gives to its owner, at every moment, precise information with regard to the temperature of the sea in which it is swimming.

The few peculiarities that have just been set forth with regard to the structure and the habits of cephalopods prove that if these animals are of the greatest interest for the naturalist, they also deserve to attract our attention from other points of view.

In the markets of the greater part of the maritime towns throughout the world are found cuttlefish, calamaries, and eledones, and of these there is a large consumption for kitchen use. The common octopus, much tougher, is much less highly esteemed, and only occasionally are poor people seen to fish for it and eat it without any extensive preparation, not, however, without having beaten it well with a heavy cudgel in order to make it more tender. It is also said, but let us hope that it is a horrible calumny, that the delicious canned lobster which is given a good place on our tables is adulterated with bits of the arms of the octopus.

In Newfoundland there is caught in abundance another kind of calamary, which the fishers use as bait in catching codfish. To take them, there is attached to the end of a line a whole bundle of fish-hooks surmounted by a bit of lead painted red. The calamaries dart at this decoy, and, as the line is in constant movement, the hooks catch them by any part of their body.

These animals abound so in these regions that often, after violent tempests, the sea throws them up in great quantities along the coast of Newfoundland. In certain countries, as in Greece, in Portugal, and in Tunis, octopi are dried or salted; in Japan and in China they are smoked, and, thus prepared, they are the object of an extensive trade.

In Polynesia and in New Caledonia the natives eat the flesh of the nautilus and get the very fine mother-of-pearl of its shell. On the latter they execute pretty engravings; they also make cups of it and imitation cameos, as well as little trinkets not lacking in elegance.

I shall probably surprise many persons by telling them that ambergris, one of the choicest and most exquisite of perfumes, which often brings a very high price, is nothing but the residuum of the digestion of sperm whales, which feed almost exclusively upon cephalopods. The musk, whose presence we have ascertained in the skin of eledones, while passing through this strange laboratory undergoes a transformation and is made into ambergris. I am very sorry to be obliged to say, out of respect for the truth, that this delicate perfume is nothing but a common coprolite, an intestinal calculus of the sperm whale! Pieces of this substance are found floating on the surface of the sea, and fishermen seek carefully for it in the intestines of the cetacea that they cut up; they sometimes take several thousand francs' worth of it out of the intestines of a single sperm whale.

In spite of their reputation of being ugly creatures, the cephalopods have furnished inspiration to the artists not only of antiquity but also of our own days. On a large number of Greek coins are found reliefs of cephalopods, often reproduced with so much exactness that it is possible



to recognize the genus and even the species. The common poulp is seen on the coins of Croton, of Messana, and of Dikaia in Chalcis, as the chief ornament; on coins of Taras, of Poseidonia, of Argos, and of Amphiocikon, as an accessory ornament. The eledone figures are on a Hellenic coin, and on another Greek medal is seen Taras on the dolphin, holding a poulp in the right hand.

Certain gems of the museum of the Louvre and of the British Museum or of other great collections also show us cephalopods entirely recognizable; in the time of Alcibiades and of Pericles the Grecian beauties adorned themselves with miniatures of poulps.

Since the undeniable masters of taste in antiquity did not hesitate to adorn their wives with jewels of which the octopus formed the chief ornament, we may boldly conclude that the octopus is not an ugly beast, if one knows how to regard it. Moreover, in nature nothing is ugly; everything is beautiful for him who frees himself from the absurd prejudices still rife. It is from study that the artist derives his freshest inspiration and the naturalist his purest satisfaction.

## A SOCIALISTIC CONTENTION

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A CHILD'S inquiry which is quoted at Hull House raises one of the most troublesome of all difficulties in the theory and practice of the social question, "Who can be good without any back yard?" There is a dignified and very stubborn theory that the back yard has little to do with goodness. Some inherent personal quality, according to this view, determines our destiny. Whether this quality mature in a rookery or in a palace, it will, after its nature, come to its own. The back yard will neither help nor hinder.

I heard long since a lecture by the artist, Whistler, called "Ten O'clock." The thesis was that genius in art is independent of all back yards. If the divine sensitiveness to beauty once take possession, it will find avenues to express itself. The dullest age cannot quench it. The meanest upbringing cannot long hold it in check. The artist will thrive in poverty as in luxury. A dreary and commonplace generation cannot defeat him. Whether the childhood is happy or miserable will count for little. Once the talent is here in any age or place, it will mould the unhappiest events and make them tributary to its own destiny. Circumstance is nothing if the careless deities once grant the gift.

In Taine's "Philosophy of Art," the reader may find the exact opposite of Mr. Whistler's views put with the learning of an historian as well as with an artist's skill. With Taine, the difference is infinite, whether the man be born here or there, in an age of machine production or in the *cinque cento*. The gloom over the figures of Rembrandt is but the reflection of the sombre sky under which the great master painted. The flame on Titian's canvas mirrors the light in which he lived. The splendor of raiment in Van Dyck's pictures would have been impossible but for the condition of eastern commerce in his time. Give Taine a certain setting of external media, climate, industry, custom, and he returns the result in character, as if character were a product of that into which it happened to be born.<sup>1</sup>

To get the artist or even a special kind of artist,

"Une certaine température morale est nécessaire pour que certains talents se développent; si elle manque, ils avortent. Par suite, la température changeant,

(1) See his account of this art from *Hubert van Dyck to Quentin Massys*, vol. ii., chapter i. Again, the effect of external conditions on Greek sculpture, vol. ii., page 102.



l'espèce des talents changera ; si elle devient contraire, l'espèce des talents deviendra contraire et, en général, on pourra concevoir la température morale comme *faisant un choix* entre les différentes espèces de talents, ne laissant se développer que telle ou telle espèce, excluant plus ou moins complètement les autres. C'est par un mécanisme de cette sorte que vous voyez, en certains temps et en certains pays, se développer dans les écoles tantôt le sentiment de l'idéal, tantôt celui du réel, tantôt celui du dessin, tantôt celui de la couleur."

Professor M'Kechnie, a teacher of law and history in the University of Glasgow, writes in his "State and the Individual":—

"It is difficult to resist the conclusion that the conduct of governments, whether in acting or in letting alone, is largely responsible for the existence, or at any rate, the distribution, of most of the suffering that exists in the world."

It would be easy to give a list of weighty names of those who take their stand with Whistler as against Taine in this dispute. Just as easy would it be to fill out as long a list of those who side with Taine.

Mazzini shows, for example, that he sympathizes with Taine:—

"For the people there is but one thing certain,—their own misery. As for the moralists, the philosophical writers, who would begin with transforming the inward man—they forget that the laboring man, who works fourteen or sixteen hours a day for a bare subsistence, with no security for the morrow's existence but the labor of his hands, has not time to read and reflect ;—he drinks and sleeps."

In the same spirit Macaulay urges that free and popular institutions will create great qualities. On the other hand, Ruskin accepts Carlyle's teaching, that the temper of the artist is

"not a teachable or gainable thing, but the expression of the mind of a God-made great man : that, teach or preach or labor as you will, everlasting difference is set between one's capacity and another's, and this God-given supremacy is a priceless thing, always just as rare in the world at one time as another."

Ruskin maintains that all effectual advancement toward this true felicity of the human race must be by individual, not public effort. Ruskin never quite freed himself from Carlyle's estimate of our poor humanity as a "rotten multitudinous canaille" that would not recognize the great man when the wayward gods created him.

The artist-poet, Morris, called himself a follower of Ruskin, but the pupil tells us that years of hard work with common men led him to see little hope for art or for sweeter life until social conditions were transformed. Here one sees a purely collectivist sympathy aroused by the conviction that both art and sweeter life depend largely upon enveloping circumstance.

There is, perhaps, no more fundamental contention in socialism than this. At first blush it appears puerile to seek labored proofs of the merits of this dispute. To the practical instinct, it is at best a quibble. "Character is of course important, so also are favorable circumstances." Like many a decision of common experience, there is a kind of final truth about this, upon which churches, charities, and legislators (forced to take things in the rough), unfortunately act. The student, however, must qualify and make distinctions. He sees that the social question is perpetually confused by conflicting notions on this issue. He sees that no discussion can take him far until some attempt is made to weigh "character" against "circumstance." I have rarely heard a debate between one who thought himself an individualist and one who claimed to be a socialist that did not, at bottom, turn upon the inquiry about the relative importance of man's character and that of his surroundings. The dispute is as old as human thought, and people will doubtless quarrel over it as long as diversities of temperament continue in the race. Attempts to secure social and labor legislation are troubled by the same antagonisms. One insists that the external changes proposed by the bill in hand will be useless because they cannot affect character. Another is confident that character has no chance until the outward changes have taken place.

An instructed worker in social settlements tells me:—

"It's not much good if the heads of the various houses once get bitten with socialism. Then I find them always acting on the assumption that if they can create some new device—bath-house, local library, art industry—and induce the city later to carry it on, they have fulfilled their highest function. These changes do not make character at all. The only good settlements do is through personal and individual contact; but very few of these associations are content with that and so seem to me to be wasting their energies."

I asked this critic why, from his own point of view, these same creations,—penny savings, baths, libraries, clubs,—may not be considered as so many means of enlarging and systematizing that personal contact which appears to him so primary. The inquiry did not move him from his position. Said he:—

"No, once get that illusion into the mind, that externals of any sort are greatly important and straightway your hold as character-maker is gone. Every one of these fine and showy alterations is sure to call off the attention from the one task. With these so much in mind you will weaken character, not strengthen it."

He who believes the evil to be primarily one of character, is likely to oppose the interference of any law, and to think lightly of external



changes. I asked a coal operator during the recent strike, why the employers did not obey the state law and pay the miners once a fortnight instead of once a month. He said, "Yes, that's the law, but it's a bad one. The miners have so little self-control that if they get their pay in small amounts, they waste it for rum at the 'speak easy.'" Such laws, he felt, were useless until the miners and their wives "got more character." One holding the opposite view would insist that self-control grows by exercise. How the miner spends his money is his business. If he is ever to learn prudence and forethought, it must be by exercising his own judgment. If the law compel the employer to throw upon the miner the responsibility of using his wages as seems to him best, this may prove to be one agency for the miner's training.

During the tenement house agitation in New York, a clever lawyer, pleading for owners of low class tenements, maintained that "with this class of tenants no improvement in housing was worth while because they were so filthy. Paint and whitewash as much as you like," he said, "and they will daub everything over within a fortnight." If proper sanitary appliances were put in, they would not use them. These tenants, according to the lawyer, were a bad lot for whom new surroundings could do nothing. They must first get decent habits and then it might be feasible to trust them in cleaner quarters.

The reply to this has been the same:—

You will not get the instincts of cleanliness as long as tenants are left in filth. What you call "character" will remain squalid if it habitually lives in squalor. A rare few will have qualities that find the filth unbearable. These will escape, but the mass will remain a bad lot as long as their lot is bad. The socialist of every shade urges that all talk of character first is cant. First knock your shabby tenement to pieces. First give tolerable housing, and then the virtues, from which character is made, begin to grow.

One learns among these social questions that nothing is so practical as a theory. One of our most conscientious "single taxers" refuses to help in tenement house reform, "because better homes for workingmen are useless under our present vicious tax system. Replace this chaos by the single tax and the evil of over-crowding and bad tenements passes away forever." The theory of Mr. George, strictly construed, makes this attitude consistent and unanswerable.

A socialist commenting in Chicago upon Mr. Stead's terrible arraignment of female prostitution in that city, says:—

"When will the fools learn that prostitution is a necessity of our wage system? If they will have capitalism and the kind of family it makes, they must have prostitu-

tion. The well dressed thieves could not otherwise protect their own wives and daughters."

If this critic's theory is true, his conclusion is true. If the private appropriation of rent, interest, and profits, creates a sex slavery,—a commercial monogamy on one side and a prostitute class on the other,—he was right in saying "Your houses of refuge are nothing but places where these wretched victims recuperate for their calling. No such institutions can touch the disease which is in our social system."

Alfred de Musset sides in this with the socialist. The young girl's fall is not because of native frailty, but from the circumstance of surrounding misery:—

"Thou Poverty, art the Courtesan !  
 'Tis thou who throwest to this bed of lust  
 This child whom Greece had given to Diana !  
 Thy voice it was that whistled with the wind,  
 That through the mother's draughty tenement came  
 And to the starving, sleepless woman whispered :  
 'Virgin and fair thy daughter is—then sell her.'  
 Thy gaunt hand washed her for this festival  
 As men wash corpses for their winding sheets.

"Alas ! who knows what fate she might have had  
 Had she not wanted bread !  
                                   —her immolation  
 Is caused by misery and not by sin "

To trace this special evil not to hidden inclination but to lack of bread, a mean home, or scant and fitful wages, forces those who hold such views to look to a very different order of remedies. As theories of environment vary, so varies every conception of social remedies.

When George Jacob Holyoke, still young, was groping his way toward some service that could enlist his enthusiasm, he fell upon a passage from Coleridge which runs thus:—

"Accustomed to regard all the affairs of men as a process, they never hurry and they never pause. Theirs is not a twilight of political knowledge which gives just light enough to place one foot before the other ; as they advance the scene still opens upon them. Convinced that vice originates not in the man, but in the surrounding circumstances,—not in the heart but in the understanding,—they are hopeless concerning no one. By endeavoring to alter the circumstances they would remove, or by strengthening the intellect, disarm temptation."

Holyoke says that these words describe the class of socialists of which

(1) *Sixty Years of an Agitator's Life*, vol. 1., p. 49.



Owen was the founder. The passage so stirred him that he sought out Owen with the result that a new purpose was given to his life.

He who is convinced that the "social system" is so awry that it inevitably breeds poverty, intemperance, licentiousness, and crime, will be impatient with every effort to cope with these evils except through changes in the social order.

If Henry George is right in holding that the private ownership of land is the mother root of all our woes, it is valid for him to write such sentences as these, "Human progress is not the improvement of human nature. The advances which make for civilization are not secure in the constitution of man, but in the constitution of society." In his chapter on the "Central Truth," he says the evils "spring solely from social maladjustments which ignore natural laws." The remedy is, simply let the community take the rent, then inspiring opportunity will so stir the race to eager work that, in his own words, "we shall abolish poverty; tame the ruthless passions of greed; dry up the springs of vice and misery; light in dark places the lamp of knowledge; give new vigor to invention and a fresh impulse to discovery; substitute political strength for political weakness; and make tyranny and anarchy impossible."

Upon less fervid hopes, but upon the same kind of hope, all those are now building who look to various forms of social legislation and industrial experiment to invigorate and beautify our common life. We are not likely to estimate this hope justly unless, at the threshold of inquiry, we face the rather chilling facts of a long experience.

Those who are cheered by the hope that new politics, new laws, a new social and industrial system will give us a worthier race, are met by two apparent discouragements. These appear first,—in the actual history of political, legal, and institutional changes that have already been tried; and second,—in the conclusions of many of the ablest scientific teachers.

In the long record of reforms, political, legal, institutional, it is undeniable that race character has been considerably modified, but hopes and expectations have, in almost every case, so far outrun achievement that disappointment follows like a shadow upon most of the great enthusiasms. We read the hopes of men like Charles Sumner for negro suffrage; of the eager confidence of Richard Cobden that free trade would rapidly change the race so that wars would be impossible, or we read of Mill's noble optimism in his discussion of politics. In each instance, the result, as it stands written in present events, is meagre enough.

In the France of 1789, there was an ecstasy of belief that the people would acquire quickly the nobler virtues if only the heavy weight

of institutions, laws, traditions was swept away. Never were these externals so knocked about; never were laws and traditions more thoroughly remodeled. The legislators were honest in believing that abundance and felicity could be voted into existence. Amidst all the disputing about this great event, few will question that the havoc with the past and a whole new world of social and legal programs left the French habits and character almost untouched. All the ruin of hated institutions, all the dreams that passed into new constitutions, scarcely moved what was deepest in the temperament and qualities of the race.

Thus one by one the long list of reforms and social experiments to change mechanism and circumstance, if judged with sympathy and yet with critical discrimination, are seen to have accomplished immeasurably less than was expected.

Of profit sharing, labor colonies, and "patronage" in all its forms the same sober word has to be spoken. The controlling impulse of private gain, the passion to circumvent one's rival and get the best of the bargain, are found to be so ingrained in the mass of men and women that they respond with infinite slowness to every business method that asks some sacrifice of immediate interests. This slowness of response does not, of course, discredit a single attempt to replace the sordid brutalities of competition by motives and social activities that accord with honor and good will to all. It is our only hope that such efforts are gradually proving the strength of processes that join men through their more generous qualities and not so largely through their greeds and suspicions. This tardy yielding to social motives does, however, furnish the best of reasons for avoiding illusions about race progress. It prompts us to listen to every stricture that the economic individualist or the biologist can suggest.

It is a stern lesson that, in greater or less degree, is true of other and very different reforms for which men have cherished the most ardent hopes. Representative government, popular education, universal suffrage, were thought, as men looked forward to them, to hold the secret of social regeneration. The service each has rendered counts for progress, but it has grown painfully clear that the real character of the people has been but slightly modified by our form of government, our free schools, or our suffrage.

In its own dialect science seemed to repeat this, with ominous warnings against benevolent intentions to save the weak. An English professor of psychology, Haycraft, leaves us in no doubt as to what this means. No fussing with circumstance can greatly help. "Selection is the race changer." Advantage depends "upon inborn peculiarity. The



action of healthy surroundings will never by itself produce a robust out of a feeble race. Although we may improve an individual during his or her lifetime, both in physical capacity, in mental and moral power, this improvement is not transmitted in appreciable degree to the offspring who have therefore to begin again in their lives just where their parents began in theirs. With this non-inheritance of personally acquired characteristics, the work of individual improvement has to begin again in each generation, for the gained ground is always lost."

This means that all our efforts for the good of mankind will be of no avail unless selective agencies are maintained. It is because we are not yet brave enough to apply the remedy, that Professor Haycraft writes, "It is quite possible, therefore, that even under the present conditions of better hygienic education and moral teaching, the race may be deteriorating, and, indeed, from the biological standpoint, there is every reason to suppose that it is."<sup>1</sup>

In this long quarrel over outer and inner forces, much is made of genius by those who attribute little to external happenings. Francis Galton says, "If the eminent men of any period, had been changed when babies, a very fair proportion of those who survived and retained their health up to fifty years of age would, notwithstanding their altered circumstances, have risen to eminence." He cites Lord Brougham as one that no "combination of circumstances could have kept in obscurity." It may well be that one of such fibre would stand against a world of discouragements. But is any one to believe that if Lord Brougham's childhood and youth had been spent in a London or New York slum, it would not have left the profoundest mark upon his character? If his child life had been spent where Richard Croker has spent his, distinction might still have been won, but what kind of distinction? Croker, too, has avoided obscurity. That Lord Brougham would have been anything like the man he was, had he grown to manhood in the conditions of Croker's youth, is scarcely credible.

The opinion of one who has no biological equipment is of so slight value upon this point that I have submitted this case of the English statesman to men whose life has been spent in such studies. They differ about it as radically and as confidently as learned specialists are wont to differ about most subjects of discussion. Galton's position is not thought safe by some of these specialists even as applied to illustrious talent.

Genius offers a dazzling illustration. Was not D'Alambert a puny foundling, lodged by rough chance with an ignorant glazier's wife? Did he not in spite of every discouragement force his way to greatness and

(1) *Darwinism and Race Progress.*

distinction? This is the kind of proof often given to show that environment is of slight account; that some mystery of inherited energy will find its way through every besetment of disheartening circumstance. If genius succeed it becomes known, but of the genius that succumbs, no evidence can be given.

So far as the social question is kept in view, this perplexity of the "God-given great man" need not disturb us. The whole bearing of circumstance upon average human weakness cannot be determined by selected histories of men like Lincoln and Henry Brougham. Men are the creatures of circumstance in proportion as they are weak and ignorant. In the savage and barbarous state external influences almost wholly control human destiny. With every step in knowledge and civilization the race casts off some link of the chain that binds it. Fire, clothing, shelter, and more effective arms, have each left him less a slave to environment. The ignorance of many a small farmer leaves him still half a slave. To know and to practice what agricultural science is now urging upon him would free him from many tyrannies; his margin of "dead land," the parasites that waste his grain, undrained soils, are all environments that tend to beat him in the struggle. The measure of his ignorance measures his subjection to circumstance. Science, invention, and wiser methods of instruction will augment this inward power over outward limitations for the race, as they now do for the favored individual.

The chief purpose of these illustrations is not to recommend either this or that measure of reform. It is first to show the immediate practical consequences that are involved in the degree of emphasis we put upon character or upon circumstance. All will claim that character is supreme as a desired end, but through what ways and means are we to get this character? Is it to be said, "first make the man what he ought to be and then circumstance, institutions, economic environment, politics, will shape themselves nobly after the noble man"? A plucky and admirable fighter for cleaner city life in Chicago, told me "There is no use until we get citizens to understand that we have one very simple duty before us: that of putting certain good men in office. Everything that calls off the attention from that, postpones the victory. Administration is nothing, public ownership is nothing, the franchises are unimportant until we can get honorable and capable men in office and keep them there."

There is a truth so vital and enduring in this statement that one shrinks from admitting counter evidence. The tendency to seek the cure in a new statute, in some shifting of administrative machinery without thought of the men who must enforce the statute and manipulate the



machinery, is so all pervasive, as to constitute an alarming peril in modern society. It is because this illusion is so obstinate among us, that one hesitates before anything that seems to sanction it.

To substitute any outward change for honest personal force must be written down as the easiest and stupidest step in social politics. Everything, therefore, that this gentleman says about getting honor and capacity into positions of trust is to be accepted and tenaciously clung to. Only when we are clear upon this point, is it quite safe to make the appeal to environment and ask what aid it may bring to further the reign of sagacious and trustworthy officials. None refuse consent to this, that the best life is the end of all striving; to get society under the control of this best life is the ideal of politics, but over the ways to reach this goal, the differences in opinion are so vehement as to throw men into jarring factions. One who felt the full power of economic forces over men and events in a city like Chicago, would be quick to say, "Until this environment of industrial pressure is reckoned with, you cannot get and permanently keep the best and most disinterested men in power. Leave the great franchises in private hands, with public regulation so slight that adroit attorneys and a skilled lobby can secure all real power to the corporation, what chance, it will be asked, have the citizens of being represented by a fearless leadership that always shall stand first for public interest, and for private interests only so far as these harmonize with the general welfare? To improve manhood and keep its best examples where their influence shall be for the good of the common wealth rather than for particular wealth, may require as much solicitude for the conditions within which men live and act, as for the man himself. It is not a problem of character alone, but character in relation to the strongest forces that surround it and are a part of it. There is much to justify the socialist when he says, "If you wait for character, the reforms that we need most can be indefinitely prorogued."

When Mrs. Stetson's "Neolithic Man" prophesied before his primitive friends a fairer social future,

"They all rose up in fury  
 Against their boastful friend;  
 For prehistoric patience  
 Cometh quickly to an end.  
 Said one: 'This is chimerical!  
 Utopian! Absurd!'  
 Said another: 'What a stupid life!  
 Too dull, upon my word!'  
 Cried all: 'Before such things can come,

You idiotic child,  
You must alter Human Nature.'  
And they all sat back and smiled.  
It was a clinching argument  
To the Neolithic mind."

If, as all concede, great achievements in social betterment are possible only as human nature is improved, it is fair to add that this stronger and less selfish humanity is more certain to emerge if the environment is so changed that the better social instincts are encouraged.

The legislative, educational, and industrial changes that are seen to be necessary to make the struggle for existence in the labor world easier and fairer can have no other theory to act upon, than that environment is a permanent factor. It is justly *assumed* that the possibilities of character are unknown until environment has been made favorable to function. From this point of view there is no exclusion of inner force or outer circumstance. Both are vital to the whole which constitutes our problem. It will forever be the test of practical wisdom to decide, at a given time and place, which needs the more attention. One may even grant that inborn qualities of character are primary and of greater moment, and still lay urgent stress, for practical purposes, upon the necessity of changing circumstances. For practical considerations no further claim need be made. Though the very weight of nature be in "the inner tissue," we are bound to assume an equal importance in altering untoward surroundings. As long as the demands of life are stronger than theory, this will rightly determine man's action. This does not doom us to oscillate till the end of time between half truths. It is a settled race experience that hereditary quality is a constant power, and it is also settled that life's surroundings are no less a power. This is not the middle course in the sense of being the "mere rendezvous of those that have no opinions." It is the secure position of those who insist that nothing which the problem requires shall be excluded.

I have seen nowhere a better statement of this truth than from the pen of that admirable scholar and statesman, John Morley. He says:—

"In particular, I have long felt that the prevailing tendency to regard all the marked distinctions of human character as innate, and in the main indelible, and to ignore the irresistible proofs that by far the greater part of those differences, whether between individuals, races, or sexes, are such as not only might but naturally would be produced by differences in circumstances, is one of the chief hindrances to the rational treatment of great social questions and one of the greatest stumbling blocks to human development."



To this extent the contention of the socialist is justified. In the wordy casuistry now spun by individualist and socialist alike it is impossible to preserve any clearness of outline between the connotations of "character" and "circumstance." But for all objects that concern the actual worker in politics, in social settlements, in charity and reform administration, the socialistic contention may be accepted quite without fear that the stubborn and enduring facts which forever constitute the strength of individualism will be suppressed.

# RELIGIOUS SECTS IN RUSSIA

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## I.

**T**WO recent events have fastened the eyes of the civilized world upon Russia: the Czar's manifesto of February 26 (March 11), on religious tolerance, and a few weeks later, the massacre of the Jews at Kishinyov on Easter Sunday and Monday.

In the preamble to the manifesto the Czar declares his "holy vow \* \* \* to guard the ancient foundations of the Russian state," as well as his "inflexible determination to satisfy without further delay the matured needs of the state." First in order of enumeration is the need "to secure in matters pertaining to religion strict observance by the authorities of the mandates of tolerance inscribed in the fundamental laws of the Russian Empire, which, devoutly respecting the Orthodox Church, as supreme and dominant, grant to all our subjects of heterodox and non-Christian denominations the freedom of observing their faith and worshipping in accordance with the rites thereof."

This solemn announcement of the Czar's "inflexible determination" to secure for his subjects the enjoyment of privileges which are "inscribed in the fundamental laws of the empire" admits by implication that "the mandates of tolerance" are not respected by the authorities. The need has now matured for strict observance of the law by the officers of the law, and it must be "satisfied without further delay." The Kishinyov massacre emphasizes the point.

Religious tolerance is an elastic term; as interpreted by the Czar's manifesto, its scope is confined to freedom of worship. This strict construction is unquestionably in accord both with the letter and the spirit of the fundamental laws as they are; no innovations are contemplated by the manifesto, which vows "to guard the ancient foundations of the Russian state."

What is meant by religious tolerance as understood according to the laws of the Russian Empire, is thus laid down by the late Professor Gradowsky, of the Imperial University of St. Petersburg, an eminent authority on Russian public law:—

"The full scope of freedom of conscience or religious faith embraces the following tests: (a) the freedom of public worship in accordance with the rites of one's creed; (b) the freedom of choosing a creed; (c) the freedom of preaching, with the



purpose of converting persons belonging to other denominations, as well as of founding a new church; (d) the full enjoyment of political and civil rights by all persons regardless of church affiliation.

“The rules of religious tolerance, as expressed in the Russian law, are substantially confined to the freedom of worship.”<sup>1</sup>

It will be shown further that even in this narrow sense religious tolerance is subject to very material limitations.

About one third of the population of the empire are not affiliated with the Orthodox Greek-Catholic Church. The law divides the forty-five million heterodox and non-Christian subjects of the Czar into two classes: (1) “foreign denominations” and (2) “heresies and schisms.” The former, as the term denotes, represents bodies of citizens of foreign descent added to the population of the empire chiefly through territorial expansion and to some extent through immigration. “Heresies and schisms” are religious divisions which have grown up within the Orthodox Church itself. Whereas “heresies and schisms” remain to this day within the purview of the criminal law, sound statesmanship has from the earliest times enjoined towards “foreign denominations” a degree of tolerance, varying with the circumstances under which each of them came within the jurisdiction of the expanding Russian state.

By the ukase of Empress Anne (February 22, 1735), which is still the law, religious tolerance is defined to mean merely freedom of worship, but not the freedom of preaching for the purpose of making converts among Russian subjects, which is prohibited under severe penalties. Inasmuch as the established church is a part of the state, the power of the state is strengthened by the growth of the Orthodox Church. Other denominations may hold their own, but all missionary work is the exclusive prerogative of the established church. English missionaries who, during the reign of Alexander II., endeavored to preach the gospel among the heathen natives of Eastern Siberia, were promptly ordered out of the empire.

Until the Polish insurrection of 1863 the Roman Catholic Church enjoyed the same privileges as all other foreign Christian denominations. The leading part taken by the Roman Catholic clergy in the struggles of the Polish people for national independence has called forth vigorous measures of reprisal from the Russian government. Churches were closed and church edifices converted into barracks and stables.

An incident in this repressive policy is the “conversion” of the Uniats. The Uniat or United Greek Church is a branch of the Eastern Church, which accepts the supremacy of the Pope, though in all other

(1) A. Gradovsky, *Elements of Russian Public Law*, vol. i., pp. 373, 376.

respects adhering to the doctrine of the Greek-Catholic Church. The Uniat Church embraced a large portion of the White Russian people, of the former Grand Duchy of Lithuania. In order to wrest the White Russians from Polish influence, it was deemed imperative to "reunite" them to the established church. Missionaries were sent out among the Uniats, and wherever persuasion failed of effect, it was reinforced by the police and the military. Uniat priests who objected to joining the established church were imprisoned and banished; their churches were placed in charge of orthodox priests, their parishes were officially declared "reunited," with the result that those who persisted in their allegiance to the church in which they were raised, were treated by the law as "apostates" from the Orthodox Church.

## II.

Among the "foreign denominations" we find also the Jews, whose settlement in some parts of the Russian Empire is contemporaneous with or even antedates the appearance of the Russian people on the stage of history. In the "Ipatievsky Chronicle," dating as far back as the middle of the twelfth century, the Jews are mentioned as old residents of Russia. In Poland they resided from time immemorial; since the eleventh century their presence in Poland is established by historical evidence. In the kingdom of the Chazars which occupied the southeast territory of the present European Russia, the Jews were settled in large numbers as early as in the seventh century. It is, therefore, against all evidence to class them, as is done in some quarters, with the "foreign" elements of the population of the empire. As well might the descendants of the Norman conquerors be classed today among the foreign population of Great Britain.

So much is true that there was no Jewish population within the boundaries of the Muscovite state. The federation of southwestern principalities which centred around the capital city of Kiev,—the cradle of the Russian nation,—had through the vicissitudes of history become incorporated in the Polish commonwealth. Thus it was only with the partition of Poland that the Russian Empire came into possession of the bulk of its Jewish population.

The old Muscovite attitude toward the Jews was expressed by Empress Elizabeth in 1743, when the Senate represented to her that the enforcement of the law directing the expulsion of Jewish merchants



from Russian fairs affected injuriously the fiscal interest. To this the Empress rejoined, "From the enemies of Christ I desire no lucrative returns."

The Muscovite law which shut the door against the Jews could not be applied to the new possessions thickly settled with Jews. But while the imperial government could not order the depopulation of the cities and towns in the newly acquired provinces, it "guarded the ancient foundations of the state" in so far as it excluded the Jews, as before, from the original Muscovite territory, merely leaving them where it had found them. Thus the "pale of settlement" was created; by that name the law describes the limited area within which the Jews are permitted to reside. The boundaries have undergone many changes, at first being widened, then again narrowed down. Whenever a province or a city, formerly within the pale, was excluded, thousands of Jewish settlers were ordered out of the forbidden territory. The latest expulsions took place during the reign of Alexander III.

The Jewish riots of 1881 and 1882 created in Russia a public sentiment extremely hostile to Jews. This sentiment was given official expression in the "Provisional Rules" of May 3-15, 1881, which prohibited the Jews from settling and acquiring real estate outside of cities and towns of the pale of settlement. Though the law on the face of it had no retroactive power, yet in practice it resulted in the gradual expulsion of about one fifth of the Jewish population from the places of their residence. Many of those rural Jews were lessees of farms and flour mills; these leases could not be renewed when their terms expired. Thus scores of tenants were forced to quit the land upon which they and their fathers had been born and raised. In 1889 the cities of Taganrog and Rostov on the Don were excluded from the pale. Those of the Jewish residents who were enrolled as burghers of those cities were not molested. But all those who were enrolled elsewhere and resided there on passports were given six months to wind up their business and quit. In 1891 the Jews of Moscow were similarly ordered to quit within not more than six months, which was considered by the government ample time for them to close their business.

Gradually step by step, the civil and political rights of the Jews were materially curtailed. They practically are debarred from holding public office or positions in the civil service; only limited numbers of Jewish children are admitted to the public schools, while few private schools are licensed. Local authorities have gone to great lengths in widening the scope of the retroactive regulations beyond the limits originally contemplated by the central government. Whenever appeal was taken to

the Senate, the local authorities were invariably reversed.<sup>1</sup> But appeals are slow and costly, so in most cases the rulings of the local authorities stand. Moreover the decisions of the Senate on appeal are not regarded by the administration as precedents, but merely as orders in particular cases. The Provincial Board of Bessarabia went so far as to disregard the decisions of the Senate even in those cases where its rulings were appealed from and reversed.

The recent Kishinyov massacre has revealed to the outside world the fact that the representatives of government authority would deny the Jews the protection of the law, when their lives and property and the honor of their women were attacked by a riotous mob. It is, perhaps, not as well known that the conduct of the authorities at Kishinyov was in no way exceptional. The commission with Count Palen as chairman, which was appointed by the government to inquire into the causes of the frequent anti-Jewish riots during the reign of Alexander III., said in its report:—

“It is beyond any doubt, that in most cases where the riots assumed especially grave dimensions, their growth was caused by the inadequacy or weakness of the measures adopted by the police. When police supervision was made more efficient and the administration was made responsible for anti-Jewish outbreaks, the latter did not recur or were nipped in the bud.”

In a strictly centralized autocratic government like that of Russia, local officers of the administration seek to anticipate the wishes of the central government; the moment the latter announced its intention to hold all officials responsible for laxity in dealing with anti-Jewish riots, rioting ceased. Apparently, prior to that announcement there must have been something in the attitude of the central government to create the belief among the local authorities that they would not be held liable for inaction. In the light of earlier events, the inaction of the Kishinyov authorities is traceable to the same cause, namely, the feeling prevalent among them that the government at St. Petersburg would hold them blameless.

That the policy of the government towards the Jews is dictated by

(1) The Senate is a judicial body divided into several departments. The First Department, which has jurisdiction of all appeals from the rulings of the administration, has an honorable record as a strict upholder of the law and of the rights of citizens. The Criminal Cassation Department, which is a court of error in criminal cases has, on the contrary, suited its interpretation of the law to the policies of the government. It is a familiar maxim among the legal profession in Russia that ‘there are no reversible errors for a Jew.’ ”



religious motives is officially denied; with certain qualifications the denial may be accepted.

The college bred class from among whom the officers of the government are selected, are notoriously indifferent in matters of religion. The high dignitary in Tolstoi's "Resurrection," who vicariously represents the Czar as the head of the church, though without any religion himself, is not overdrawn. Like the aristocratic infidels in France before the Revolution, the Russian official of that type regards the established church as a part of the police machinery of the state. Tolerance towards Protestants and Mohammedans, persecution of Roman Catholics and Jews, are purely political matters.

In the discussion of the Jewish question, following the Kishinyov massacre, it was given out by the Russian Ambassador at Washington that the cause of the hatred against the Jew in Russia was "Jewish exploitation." Shirking the labor of a farmer, the Jew is said to be a natural born banker; as soon as he has accumulated two dollars he invests his capital by loaning it at usurious interest to his peasant neighbor. Hence the frequent anti-Jewish riots are outbreaks of the hatred of the debtor class against the creditor class. The legal discrimination against the Jew is intended for the protection of the poor peasant against "Jewish exploitation."

The opinion is noteworthy in that it shows the unconscious effect of socialistic propaganda upon the official Russian mind. The term "exploitation" in a vituperative sense has come into the Russian vocabulary from the writings of the socialists. From the socialistic standpoint labor is the sole creator of value; any income which is not produced by the labor of its recipient is in the last resort, surplus value, the result of "exploitation" of labor by capital. In the crude "populist" interpretation of this theory by the disciples of Michael Bakounine, agricultural labor was substituted for labor in general. These ideas have permeated the whole Russian periodical press, and the government, while banishing the populists and socialists to Siberia, has itself adopted their views in dealing with "Jewish exploitation." This tendency found expression in the "Provisional Rules" of May 3-15, 1881, which resulted in the expulsion of the Jew from the rural districts.

From the standpoint of Russian statecraft, the anti-Jewish policy was a signal success. It earned the approval of a portion of the populists; it turned the sentiment among the university students from radicalism to Judeophobia, thus bringing division amidst the most turbulent element of the educated classes. The most influential populist periodicals and newspapers, committed to the theory of equal rights, were reluctant to

approve the policy of discrimination against the Jews, neither could they espouse the cause of the "exploiters" of the people, and so they maintained a dignified silence; still some publications of the same persuasion openly sided with the government on the Jewish question.

Within the last six years, however, a revulsion of sentiment has set in. The rapid spread of the social democratic and labor movement throughout Russia and more especially among the Jewish workingmen, has created a strong public opinion opposed to religious or race discrimination. On the other hand, disaffection is beginning to spread from the cities to the rural districts. In the spring of 1902, as a result of bad crops, serious disturbances of an agrarian character broke out over a wide area of Southern Russia; driven by starvation the peasants of several counties broke open the barns of the landlords and divided among themselves the grain stored there. In a few cases the buildings were demolished or burned down.

Precisely as the anti-Jewish riots of a generation ago followed close after the assassination of Alexander II., which marked the culmination of the revolutionary movement of those days, so did the Kishinyov massacre come very opportunely at a time when the socialistic agitation among all classes of the people had become a serious menace to the safety of the autocratic government. The anti-Semitic "Bessarabetz," which had on its editorial staff the vice-governor of Kishinyov, wrote immediately after the massacre that "it was the answer of the Christian people to the socialistic agitation of the Jews." In a few instances the local authorities, when requested by committees of Jewish citizens to take steps for the prevention of rumored recurrence of the anti-Jewish riots, demanded as a condition for their giving protection to Jewish women and children, that the leading citizens among the Jews should induce their co-religionists to refrain from taking part in revolutionary demonstrations. The effect of these official utterances has been to bring division into the midst of the Jews by arraying racial solidarity against political sympathies. Russian journals published without the dominions of the Russian censor have reported a few cases of Jewish socialist agitators having been delivered by their co-religionists into the hands of the police.

The massacre at Kishinyov must, on the other hand, have acted like a damper on many advocates of popular government in Russia. If the people are yet so low morally as to find a fiendish delight in inflicting torture upon defenceless women and babes, how can such people be entrusted with the privilege of governing themselves?

That the effect of the Kishinyov massacre has been to strengthen



the stability of the autocratic government, is taken by the Russian opposition of all shades of opinion as proof of connivance at the rioting on the part of the ministry of the interior. A friendly foreign public, having no grievance of its own against the Russian government, may grant it the benefit of the doubt. Let us rather consider what steps have since been taken to prevent the recurrence of such outrages.

By order of the Emperor, the governors and chiefs of police were reminded by the Minister of the Interior, that "it is incumbent upon them, under their personal responsibility, to take all measures for preventing violence and pacifying the people, in order to remove all cause of apprehension among any portion of the people for their lives and property," and further, "that no organizations whatever for self-defence (among the Jews) can be tolerated." Where the governors and chiefs of police must be reminded by special order of the Emperor that it is their duty to prevent violence and preserve peace, the situation is certainly abnormal; under such circumstances to prohibit people from organizing for self-defence, when their lives and property and the honor of their families are threatened, means at best to subordinate the safety of the Jewish people to the integrity of the Russian police state. The Minister of the Interior has merely reaffirmed a fundamental proposition of Russian public law, that any military organization of citizens for whatever purpose is incompatible with autocratic government.

Still, the fact must not be overlooked that, though the motive of all legal discriminations against the Jews is political, it assumes the guise of religious intolerance. The test of a Jew, as defined by the law, is not racial, but religious.<sup>1</sup> A baptized Jew is no longer treated by the law as a Jew. Even so extreme an anti-Semite as the editor of the "Bessarabetz," while warning the Jews to quit Russia within one year for their own good, proposes to them as an alternative that they "become Christians and our brethren" and stay at Kishinyov, presumably with the privilege of "exploiting" their brethren in Christ.

### III.

The degree of tolerance accorded by the fundamental law to "foreign denominations" does not extend to the vast class of dissenters from the national church, who come under the head of "heresies and schisms." The report of the Procurator of the Holy Synod for the years 1894 and 1895 estimated the membership of these sects at thirteen million. Stu-

(1) *Decisions of the First Department of the Senate*, 1889, No. 25.

dents of the religious movements among the Russian people place that number nearer the twenty million mark.

Reform tendencies in the Russian church date as far back as the fifteenth century, which was marked by a widespread interest in religious and philosophical questions in the famous Hanse town of Novgorod and the city-republic of Pskov, then the centres of Russian civilization. The reduction of these republics to the condition of provinces of the Muscovite state put an end to that early movement for religious reform. For a brief time, however, it seemed to have conquered the conquerors.

About 1471, a learned Jew, Zacharias of Kiev, was brought to Novgorod among the attendants of the newly elected Prince Michael Olelkovich. Zacharias laid the foundation to the heresy of the "Judaizing," a rationalist sect, which very rapidly gained adherents among the clergy as well as among the laity. The Muscovite Grand Duke John III., on visiting Novgorod, called to his court two Novgorod priests who were identified with the new religious movement. They fervently applied themselves to preaching the new doctrine and gained many converts among the clergy and the courtiers; the Grand Duke himself was inclined favorably towards them and lent his influence to elevate one of the new teachers to the see of Metropolitan of Moscow. But the orthodox party was too strong for these early pioneers of reform, and soon regained its ascendancy. In 1504 the teachers of the Judaizing were tried for heresy and sentenced, some to be burned at the stake, others to have their tongues cut out; many were imprisoned in convents or banished. Thus the incipient movement for religious reform was stopped.

The ignorance of the clergy, as dense as that of the people, insured for generations to come the unity of the Orthodox Church against division bred by the spirit of inquiry. Its ritualism, impregnable in its adherence to tradition, was bound, however, to crumble under its own weight with the first beginnings of education among the clergy. Through the ignorance of the clerical scribes, many errors crept slowly into the liturgy and prayer books of the Russian church. A revision of the books was carried out early in the seventeenth century, under the direction of a learned Greek. Unfortunately the Greek was not familiar with the Slav language (ancient Bulgarian) used in the church, whereas his assistants had no knowledge of Greek. The revised version was as defective as the old books. A commission was therefore sent to the Orient, which was the fountain of tradition. They secured a vast collection of ancient manuscripts and brought them to Moscow. Jealousy naturally sprang up between the revisers and the new commission. To settle the contro-



versy, a church council was held at Moscow in 1654, which was presided over by the Russian Patriarch, Nikon, and attended by the Patriarchs of Antioch and Servia. The changes recommended by the commission were approved by the council as being in accord with the ritual adopted in the Oriental churches. This decision was the signal for a great schism. A large faction among the clergy refused to accept the innovations and remained faithful to the "old ritual." Persecution of the opposition widened the breach. The Orthodox Church was denounced as "the nest of Antichrist." The Czar was bitterly arraigned for having allied himself to the heretics and persecutors of the true orthodoxy.

Persecution of the "schismatics" grew in severity. In 1681 their leader, Protopope Avvacum, with a number of his disciples, were burned at the stake.

Unlike the movement of the Judaizing, the great schism of the old ritualists could not be killed with its leaders, for it now drew its strength from a deep seated discontent in the church and the state. Patriarch Nikon was a representative of that type of man who, in another environment, would make a military dictator, like Napoleon, a political boss, or a king of the world of industrial consolidation. His domineering character and centralizing tendencies antagonized many among the lower clergy. The "old ritual" merely proved a convenient issue to bring together all those who instinctively inclined towards a democratic organization of the church.

The state having espoused the cause of the dominant church, drew upon itself the enmity of the leaders of the schism. Opposition to the church developed into opposition to the state; the "old ritualist" clergy became the natural leaders of all the discontented in the realm. The reforms of Peter the Great taxed all the resources of the nation. The introduction of a standing army; the extension of serfdom to provide laborers for state mines, mills, and factories; stringent anti-vagrancy laws which affected the numerous class of fugitive serfs,—these and many other measures of the new fiscal policy bred discontent among the common people. On the other hand, Peter the Great, finding the way of reform blocked by the conservatism of the people, naturally distrusted the people. Discarding the Assembly of the Commons and the Council of the Boyars (house of lords), he was the first Russian Czar to rule as an autocrat. While the Commons had, during the Muscovite period, merely a consultative voice and it was optional with the Czar to call the Commons together, still custom demanded that the voice of the Commons be heard on all matters of public importance. Whenever a new code

of laws was to be enacted, the Czar invariably sought the advice of the Commons. Peter the Great, by breaking with this ancient custom, antagonized all classes of the people.

The old ritualists earnestly believed him to be the Antichrist. In all revolts against his reforms they were the moving spirits. The original controversy over Hallelujah, or the proper spelling of the name of Christ (whether "Jesus" or "Isus") thus developed into a democratic, religious, and political movement.

Very early in its history the great schism split into two branches over the question of priesthood. Since the patriarch and the bishops had abandoned the true faith and joined the "Nikonian heresy," who was to ordain new priests? The people of the sparsely settled extreme North, who owing to geographical situation had been accustomed to live without priests, came to the conclusion that henceforth there could be no priesthood in the true church. Without a priest to administer the sacraments there could be no sacraments. Proceeding from a purely ritual controversy, as their point of departure, the "Priestless" (as they were called) ultimately arrived at a rationalistic conception of religion.

As they maintained the right of free interpretation of the Scriptures, they soon split up into a number of rationalistic sects. On the other hand, the more conservative branch of the schism, which recognizes priesthood, preserved its unity and after a long struggle, forced the state to grant them a degree of tolerance.

Under the law of 1685 the schismatics were liable to be burned at the stake and their property was subject to confiscation; those harboring them were liable to be punished by the knout and banished. Driven by persecution the dissenters fled to the outskirts of the empire and thus proved a powerful factor in Russian territorial expansion.

The spirit of martyrdom was so strong with them that not infrequently, when discovered by the government, they would burn themselves alive rather than surrender. Within the first five years after the enactment of the law of 1685 as many as twenty thousand persons burned themselves. In the eighteenth century on one occasion more than two thousand persons resorted to this mode of self-destruction. Gradually, however, a *modus vivendi* was established; the officers of the government soon recognized the possibilities of the laws against the schism and made them a source of handsome revenue for themselves, in consideration of which immunity was granted to the dissenters.

After a century of persecution the imperial government realized the fact that the "schism" had come to stay. By the ukase of Peter III., in 1762, the privileges accorded to foreign denominations were extended



to the native sects. But Catherine II., born a Protestant princess and converted to orthodoxy in order to marry the Russian heir to the throne, showed her zeal by prohibiting the construction of old ritualistic churches. The old ritualists retaliated by taking an active part in the peasant rebellion led by Poogatchov, who, under the assumed name of Peter III., for nearly a year held half of the empire subject to his power. Persecutions were renewed during the short reign of the insane Paul I. His successor, Alexander I., educated by Laharpe in the principles of French liberalism, relaxed the severity of the law by granting the dissenters the privilege of worshipping; all public manifestations of worship, however, remained under the ban, as before.

The political reaction which set in during the latter part of the reign of Alexander I., brought with it a recrudescence of the old time intolerance. Under the act of 1824, backsliders from among the "converted" old ritualists were to be drafted into the army, and women were to be banished to Siberia. As the alleged "conversions" were never voluntary, the act of 1824 was virtually a return to the seventeenth century policy. Under Nicholas I. a systematic campaign of persecution of old ritualist worship was inaugurated. Count Protasov, the Procurator of the Holy Synod, in his report to the Czar in 1842, divided the Russian sects into "more harmful" and "less harmful." The former class included all "Priestless" sects, whose danger was manifested in their democratic spirit. He recommended that the "more harmful" sects should be dealt with by the penal code, whereas the "less harmful" should be discouraged by a system of civil and political disabilities. The recommendations were approved by the Czar. The old ritualists were debarred practically from holding public office, by the provision of the law requiring them to take the oath of office in accordance with the orthodox rite. They were denied admission to high schools and universities. Their marriages were not recognized by the law and their children were treated as illegitimate. They were disqualified from testifying in civil actions against members of the Orthodox Church. In certain provinces they were prohibited from buying real estate. Many of them were forbidden to leave their domicile. While thus treated as an element of public danger at home, they nevertheless were not permitted to emigrate from Russia.

Their worship was materially interfered with. The erection of new prayer houses or the repairing of old ones was prohibited; those which became dilapidated were to be condemned and shut up by the authorities, while the use of dwellings for prayer rooms was likewise prohibited.

Alexander II., the Reformer, continued the policy of his father. All

restrictive laws enacted under Nicholas I. were included in the "Revised Statutes" of 1857, published by the authority of the new Czar. The policy of the temporal and spiritual powers was directed towards "the eradication of schismatic errors among the people," in official phraseology. As a concession to the spirit of the times, those born of dissenter parents were not to be molested, but all proselyting was prohibited. One important reform, however, was enacted late in the reign of Alexander II., namely, the law of 1874, which introduced the institution of civil marriage among the old ritualists. This is an exception from the general law which regards marriage as a sacrament, whose legality is conditioned upon its celebration by competent spiritual authority. But the Russian state would not recognize the "schism" as a Christian church, hence the institution of civil marriage. In all other respects the condition of the dissenters throughout the "liberal" reign of Alexander II. remained the same as under the iron rule of his father.

#### IV.

Only as late as 1883 was a limited degree of tolerance accorded to the dissenters. By the act of May 3, 1883, all their civil and political disabilities were removed. They were permitted to hold public worship, provided, however, that their prayer houses should not have the outward appearance of churches; they must have no crosses or bells to distinguish them.

On the face of it the new law would seem to extend to the dissenters the same privileges as those enjoyed by the Protestant denominations. This tolerance, however, is practically nullified by the law, still remaining in full force, which punishes apostacy from the Orthodox Church and the spreading of "heresies and schisms."<sup>1</sup> Only those of the dissenters enjoy the immunity from persecution, granted by the act of 1883, who were born of dissenter parents. But the bulk of the membership of the recent sects, e. g., the Stundists or Baptists, are "apostates" from the Orthodox Church. Under Section 190, Penal Code, those of them who bring up their children in their new faith are liable to imprisonment for a term of not less than eight months, nor more than sixteen months. Moreover, "their children are entrusted to the care of relatives of the orthodox confession, or, in the absence of such, to the care of guardians, likewise of the orthodox faith, who are appointed for the purpose by the government."

This is not a dead letter. The most conspicuous case where the law

(1) *Penal Code*, Sections 189 and 196.



was applied in all its severity was that of Prince Hilkoﬀ, a relative of the present minister of transportation and a follower of Tolstoi. The story of the separation of his children from their parents a few years ago was told to the press of the world by the heart broken mother. There is many such a mother among the Russian peasantry.

Under the conditions of peasant life no dissenter can escape the charge of seeking to make converts among members of the Orthodox Church. The writer once witnessed the trial of a case which may be taken as typical. The prisoner himself was a Stundist, but his son married an orthodox girl and, as customary among Russian peasants, he took her into his father's house to live. At times the Stundists of the village would meet for the reading of the Bible at the old man's home. An average peasant house consists of a kitchen and one sitting room, so it was quite inevitable that the daughter-in-law should be present at the Stundist meetings. This was enough to make out a complete case of preaching an heretical doctrine to a member of the Orthodox Church. The old man was found guilty and sentenced to forfeiture of all civil rights ("civil death") and banished to the Transcaucasian region.

The effect of this policy can be easily imagined. Persecution did not prevent the spread of religious dissent, but merely produced a sort of natural selection, by which only the seekers after truth, those who are ready to suffer for the sake of truth, have joined the new religious sects. The result has been a higher moral tone among the "sectarians" than is usual among the peasantry, complete absence of drunkenness and dissipation, a spirit of mutual helpfulness and coöperation. Hand in hand with this moral and social regeneration has gone the improvement of the economic condition of the dissenter peasants, and this object lesson has been a more potent factor in attracting new converts than mere preaching could be.

The most "dangerous" of all the modern sects is the *Shtoonda* (German "Stunde") which first made its appearance in Southern Russia soon after the emancipation of the peasants (1861) and owes its origin to the influence of German colonists. Its rapid spread was due to the political and economic conditions of the time which made the more intelligent portion of the peasantry susceptible to influences of an idealistic nature.

The peasant reform of Alexander II., far from satisfying the peasantry, became the cause of widespread discontent among them. Owing to historical causes which have been discussed by the writer elsewhere, the peasant's ideal of "freedom" included the division of the land among the peasantry.

The peasantry of the nineteenth century still continued to live in the ideas of the seventeenth century, when the title to all lands was vested in the sovereign and the nobility held their estates merely for public services, subject to forfeiture at the pleasure of the Czar; on the other hand, the peasants were adscripts to the land likewise for the needs of the state. Emancipation from personal dependence upon the nobleman was to the peasant mind merely a reform of the public service; the peasant was to serve the Czar directly, instead of serving him indirectly through a master. The nobleman was to go to the city and enter the civil service or the army. The reform of Alexander II., merely abolished the personal power of the nobleman over the peasant, but the peasant was given the alternative of either accepting an allotment of land at an exorbitant price, or paying a tribute to or performing labor as before for the master. This unsettled condition of "temporary servitude," as it was officially termed, continued throughout the reign of the "Czar-Liberator" and applied to fully one half of the former serfs.

The whole scheme was so radically at variance with the peasant's conception of "freedom" that he refused to accept it as genuine. It appeared to him as a huge conspiracy of the landed and office holding nobility against the Czar and the people. The carrying out of the reform was attended with serious disturbances throughout the empire. The opposition of the peasants was crushed by military force. Broken in spirit, with their ideas of truth and justice badly shattered, the peasantry in this hour of despair, were given hope by the teachers of the new Christianity. They had heard the Bible read in a foreign, unintelligible tongue in the Orthodox Church, but that was merely a part of the ritual. The Bible which was read and explained to them by the Stundist teachers was a living truth, full of meaning, going to their own minds and hearts.

The Stundist movement rapidly spread among the peasantry, taking village after village away from the Orthodox Church. The clergy were aroused; poorly paid by the state and burdened with large families, the village priests depended upon the fees paid by their parishioners for religious services; the new religious movement threatened to deprive them of their livelihood. A vigorous campaign of persecution followed, which has not been relaxed up to the present day.

Persecution by the government turned the attention of the Stundists to political questions. The spread of education has made them familiar with the political and social ideals current among the upper classes. The work of Count Tolstoi has served as the connecting link between the progressive elements of the common people and the reformers and radi-



cals of the "intelliguentzia" (the cultured classes). The two million Stundists today are the strongest social group working for democracy in Russia.

The Czar's manifesto proclaiming the urgent need of religious tolerance is a recognition of the recent political aspect of the religious movement among the common people. Born of political necessity, religious tolerance will, in conformity with precedent, extend as far as the exigencies of the situation justify. The native dissenters will very likely be restored to the privileges which were granted to them one hundred and forty-one years ago by the ukase of Peter III., putting them on a footing with "foreign denominations." All indications, however, are to the effect that the Czar's manifesto on "religious tolerance" must be construed in the narrow sense of the Russian fundamental laws.

Two acts affecting the civil rights of the Jews have been passed since the promulgation of the manifesto. One extends the Ghetto to one hundred and one rural settlements, from which the Jews have heretofore been excluded. Upon closer scrutiny, however, it appears that these settlements are either suburbs of cities which have expanded far beyond their corporate limits, or they are villages which have developed into industrial towns, though still retaining their village organization, their incorporation being only a question of time. There is, consequently, no abandonment of the principle that the Jews must be confined to urban settlements. On the other hand, it has received a further extension through the suspension of the law permitting certain privileged classes of Jews, such as university graduates, merchants in high standing, etc., to acquire farming property outside of the pale of settlement. It has been discovered, runs the edict, that the Jews have availed themselves of the privileges to a considerable degree, therefore it has been deemed wise to suspend the privilege until further notice.

It may be hoped, however, that the magnificent synagogue in Moscow, which was shut up by the police in 1891, may yet be reopened, as a result of the Czar's manifesto.

# SOCIAL DEMOCRACY IN GERMANY

EDOUARD BERNSTEIN

BERLIN

ON June sixteenth and twenty-fifth of this year, the German Reichstag was renewed. The first ballot was cast on June sixteenth, and on June twenty-fifth, there was a second ballot, in those divisions where a clear, absolute majority of all the votes given had not been obtained. The change in the comparative strength of the great parties of the Reichstag, with one exception, has not been very remarkable; the social democratic party is the exception and has increased its representation by nearly one half of its former strength, namely, from fifty-eight to eighty-one members, and for these members no less than three million of votes have been given. The "Freisinnige" or radical groups and the populists of South Germany together have been reduced from fifty to thirty-six members, and the Catholic or centre party has one hundred members instead of one hundred and six,—a comparatively small but not quite insignificant loss.

Politicians looked with no little concern towards this election. What face would the new Reichstag show? How would it affect the imperial policy of the coming years?

These questions were no mere locutions; the constellations of parties in Germany was such as to evoke serious doubts as to whether the government would find the new Reichstag a parliament adapted to its purposes.

There is, literally speaking, no government party of any importance in the German Reichstag. The imperialists ("Reichspartei") or liberal conservatives, who justify their latter name, according to waggish saying, by being neither liberal nor conservative and who, also, at one time enjoyed the name of the "Botschafterpartei," because of the comparatively great number of former, actual, and prospective ambassadors in their ranks, constitute the only reliable band of retainers for the government. But it numbers on the whole only nineteen members in a Reichstag of three hundred and ninety-seven. The old or German conservatives are nearly three times as strong; their number in the new Reichstag is more than fifty, but these members often like to play at revolt. To this party of the squirearchy the government is much too addicted to revolutionary whims. They hate all advanced legislation, particularly democratic suffrage, and when in January last Count Bülow announced that the



government proposed to bring in a bill for the better protection of the secrecy of the vote,—the so-called *closet law*,—the only party which ventured to utter words of disapprobation was that of the Junkers,—the German conservatives.

But it is important to note that this party represents German agrarianism, i. e., the party of the great landowners and farmers who are hard fighters for legislation that will protect or rather advantage the landed interests against the industrial and commercial interest of the nation, and if they slackened in their zeal for agrarian matters they would have behind them the root and branch men of agrarianism, the “Bund der Landwirthe” (union of agriculturists) who, it is true, has only some one or two members in the new Reichstag; their most noted leaders have all been beaten at the polls, but even so this organization is one of the most powerful in the country and has done its utmost to defeat all candidates that courted the vote of the farmers by pledges in favor of ultra-agrarianism.

There was, on the eve of the election, much internal quarrel between the Junkers and the ultra-agrarian hotspurs, the latter finding that the former had been far too subservient to the government in the tariff debates, threatened to oppose them in a number of divisions at the coming election. But this domestic quarrel was smoothed over when the battle against other parties seriously began. In some cases the ultra-agrarians succeeded in forcing upon the conservative party their desperadoes; in others they had to submit to the nomination of mere mugwumps, as Americans would say, i. e., men willing to compromise with the government, but the average of the conservative members are agrarians to the core. In the same way the Union of the Agriculturists and their counterparts in the west and the south of the empire, the several Leagues of the Farmers (“Bauernbünde”) had done their best, and in a great many cases had succeeded in winning over the “Nationalliberale” and the Catholic centre party, both of whom now have their strongholds in rural and semi-rural districts. In short, as far as matters stood on the eve of the election, the minister, Count Posadowsky, could say with some justification that the agrarians formed the one pole of the internal policy of the German Empire, and that the other pole was social democracy.

Until now the agrarian party has been in nearly all of rural Germany what social democracy is today in the towns and industrial centres. And since the population of rural Germany is declining whilst the towns and industrial centres are growing in population and importance, social democracy is continually increasing and agrarianism is, as the elections

have shown, on a slow decline. The agrarian element in the German Reichstag derives its great influence to a large extent from the fact that the electoral divisions are still demarketed according to the population statistics of the sixties, in the time before the remarkable industrial revolution which Germany underwent in the last third of the nineteenth century. The constitution of the German Empire prescribes that for every hundred thousand inhabitants one member of the Reichstag is to be elected and that accordingly electoral divisions are to be formed. As a matter of fact we have at present divisions of three, four, five, and even more than six hundred thousand inhabitants which only elect one member whilst, on the other hand, districts with ten thousand inhabitants or less are entitled to the same representation. A thinly populated district like Löwenberg in Silesia, with sixty thousand inhabitants and no intellectual life worth speaking of, has the same electoral power as the *sixth division of Berlin* with more than six hundred thousand inhabitants where trade bristles and public life is highly developed. This latter division comprises sections which at the time of its formation were rural or residential suburbs, but that now are filled with factories and commercial establishments of every description. Engineering works of the greatest importance are situated there, an enormous wealth is annually produced, and on their prosperity depends the well being of a still greater population than live in the division. And yet all these great interests do not weigh more heavily in the balance of parliamentary influence than the interests of a comparatively small number of big landowners and sluggish farmers in Eastern Prussia. The division of Teltoro-Beeskow-Storkow, at one time almost wholly rural, has grown to more than five times its former population and comprises three towns of more than one hundred thousand inhabitants each, amongst them Charlottenburg, now the wealthiest town of the whole German Empire. It, too, sends but one member to parliament. The same is to be said of the divisions of Bochum and Dortmund in Westfalia and Duisburg in the Rhenish province, three most important centres of the German coal mining and iron and steel manufacture which together have nearly one and a half million inhabitants. Thus in the Reichstag there is not an adequate representation of the different interests and forces of the country, and at the general election of 1898, the agrarian German conservatives elected with eight hundred and fifty-nine thousand, two hundred and twenty-two votes the same number of members (fifty-six) as did the social democratic party with two million, one hundred and seven thousand, and seventy-six votes. Social democracy is not adequately represented in parliament and cannot be so long as the



present distribution of seats continues. With more than three million of votes, it has at the present elections, obtained altogether eighty-one seats whilst the agrarian conservatives with nine hundred and twenty thousand votes gained fifty-five seats, and the Catholic centre party with one million, seven hundred and fifty thousand elected one hundred members. Add to these the nineteen imperialist members elected, the six or seven independent "*Wilde*" conservatives and Catholics, the three reactionary agriculturists, and there is obtained nearly one half of the Reichstag of three hundred and ninety-seven members. With the addition of a few members of other groups there is a majority of votes. And the so-called "Nationalliberale" have in their ranks enough members who in cases of emergency will be ready to lend their vote. This party which forms in parliament the left centre has elected with one million, three hundred thousand votes, fifty-two members, and at least one third of them have taken the pledge to vote for the agriculturists. This is of all the parties the most motley in composition and is consequently the most unreliable; they have enjoyed for a long time the nickname of the party of Turncoats,—"*Fraktion Drehscheibe*,"—and they would go to pieces did they not furnish just the right sort of people for a coalition of all non-socialist parties against social democrats. A remarkable feature of the late evolution of politics in Germany is the changed attitude of this party toward the ultra-montane or Catholic centre party. Originally its most violent enemy and during the Bismarckian so-called "*Kulturkampf*" the most enraged supporter of the exceptional laws against Catholic priests, the "Nationalliberale" party lately has evolved from year to year a greater disposition to come to terms or at least form occasional alliances with the "Romish party." And in this last electoral fight there were a good many such alliances. Only in the duchy of Baden the old spirit of the "*Kulturkampf*" prevailed,—with the result that the "Nationalliberale" were nearly crushed out of existence. Their violent diatribes against the "*Römlinge*" have brought the last Catholic voter to the poll. Elsewhere, as in Hesse and the Rhenish Westfalian industrial centres of Germany, terms for mutual support at the second ballot were obtained by the leaders of both parties. But whilst in Hesse and surrounding districts these alliances had the result of saving some seats from falling into the hands of the socialists, the voters in Rhenania and Westfalia did not all follow the policy of the leaders, and at least three seats were won anew by the socialists, among them the giant divisions of Bochum and Dortmund. In other places, at Cologne, Crefeld, Düsseldorf, Duisburg, etc., the socialist vote very closely approached the vote of the present holder of the seat. The heretofore *impregnable tower*

of the centre,—the hold of the Catholic party,—is seriously threatened. The “Kulturkampf” reminiscences of the “Nationalliberale” are fading away, or where they remain they are losing their power of chaining to the party the mass of its once fanatic retainers.

The principal feature or dominant note of the election is the great increase of the social democratic vote, the notable intensification of the aggressive power of the social democratic party. And how is this explained? The general feeling of discontent often mentioned is not a sufficient reason especially since German parliamentarism does not know a government party in the sense of a party responsible for the policy of the government of the day. With the exception of the small band of self-styled imperialists all parties are more or less oppositional or play at opposition. The conservatives as well as the radicals or the Catholics have their grievances against the government of Count Bülow and Graf Posadowsky. The voter who wants to express by his vote his discontent with things as they are, has a good choice of parties. Why does he go to the socialists?

In every country with long established political parties there comes by and by a condition of affairs when each party has its almost fixed or settled retainership, and the changes in the electoral power are mainly decided by two classes of voters: the *new voters* and the generally non-descript voters or “wobblers.” At the outset these latter seemed to be more undecided than ever. There was to be found no battle cry for either cause which would stir up the imagination of the sluggish minds. No *Hannibal ante portal* to threaten their quiet slumber. But once a wobbler not always a wobbler. The economic evolution of modern society, the restless condition of modern life throws day by day numbers of people from a condition of comparative ease or political isolation into the turmoil of the most intense struggle for life and social improvement. The “wobbler” of yesterday becomes a violent reactionist or an ardent reformer of today. For reasons presently to be dealt with not a few of the people who were formerly indifferent were this time to be found in the social democratic camp.

But a still greater afflux came to the socialists from the ranks of the absolutely new voters, those of the population who have come to political age,—in Germany the age of twenty-five. Of every four persons now entering industrial life,—the word taken in its widest sense where it includes agriculture and other pursuits for gaining an income,—about three always go to swell the ranks of the wage-earning classes. This means that nearly three fourths of the new voters are wage-earners. The whole number of such new voters this time cannot



have been less than nine hundred thousand, and, accordingly, we have to assume an increase of the wage-earning vote of about six hundred thousand, at least two thirds of which were sure to go to the socialists. But social democracy draws its adherents, also, in a growing degree from other classes of society, especially the small trades people,—traders and garret masters of every description,—the lower professionals.

Classes or sections of the population which in other countries, where there is the two party system, form the hangers-on of the two competing middle class parties, putting their hope alternately on one and then the other, can be won in Germany more easily for social democracy because they have little to hope for from other parties. For how long the small farmers will be the dupes of the great landowners time will show, but already the Liberal Union ("Freisinnige Vereinigung"), led by free-traders has made much headway in some of the agricultural districts in the north of Germany, especially Pomerania, there and in other districts sections of the small farmers have proved quite amenable to the socialist propaganda. In the province called East Prussia, in Holstein and Mecklenburg as well as in many districts of South Germany, socialist candidates have met with great success in quite rural villages. And a most remarkable feature of the electoral struggle has been the independent spirit displayed in many rural districts by the hitherto subservient agricultural laborers. They surprised by their courage even the most optimistic socialists. The great hold of social democracy on the industrial workers reacts by a natural process on the lower agricultural classes. The influence from village into town or industrial centres is not generally the result of farmers becoming industrial wage-earners. The number of farmers show rather an increase. It is the younger sons of farmers that now in growing numbers emigrate from the country and take to industry proper instead of to agriculture. From 1882 to 1895 the population occupied in agriculture showed the following movement:—

	1882	1895	Increase or decrease
Farmers, etc.	2,288,033	2,568,725	+ 280,692
Farm bailiffs, etc.	66,644	96,173	+ 29,529
Farm laborers of every description	5,881,819	5,627,794	— 254,025

Whilst the class of farmers and other independent agriculturists shows an increase of about twelve per cent, and the class of farmers, assistants,

bailiffs, book-keepers, etc., a still greater growth, that of the farm laborers shows a decrease, which here appears not particularly large but which is very remarkable if the natural increase of population in the said period,—14.48 per cent,—be taken into consideration. Instead of a plus of eight hundred and fifty thousand you have a minus of over two hundred and fifty thousand, altogether a deficit of one million, one hundred thousand! As the rural population has now, on the whole, a lesser progeny than the industrial population, the actual deficit is somewhat lower, but it can safely be assumed that at least from eight to nine hundred thousand sons of farmers and agricultural laborers, who formerly would have swelled the ranks of the latter class, have emigrated into the towns and become industrial workers. Between them and their relatives a more or less intimate intercourse is often maintained, facilitated nowadays by improved means of communication. This does a great deal to lessen the old prejudices of country folk against town folk; in fact, the village population comes more and more under the influence of the town. And this is the main and final reason of the so-called agrarian question in Germany. The old village habits and customs die out, farmers and also an increasing number of laborers want to live like town people and to this the economic conditions of agriculture are yet opposed. Town life, town requirements, now rule the land, and whilst one section of landowners and farmers think it for their interest to obstruct this evolution as much as possible, a number of them do not feel particularly strong in this respect. The exploiting agriculturist hates the higher wages of the town worker, because they make laborers in agriculture rarer and dearer. The small farmer who employs no hired labor has no reason for this hatred, but is very often benefited by the wages his sons or daughters earn in town. Consequently he is very apt to take up their political and social ideas. It was also not too difficult to prove to the cattle, swine, or poultry rearing farmer, that cheap corn and maize was to benefit and not to injure them and that they as well as vegetable growers had everything to hope from the growth of the buying power of town and industrial village.

This shifting of social ideas is a very important factor in modern evolution, which, however, is often overlooked by politicians and political writers. They read the numbers of the rural population, but they overlook many of the finer threads that connect town and country today, and the direction of the current of thought and sentiment. Thirty and forty years ago you could meet a great number of people in German towns who by their ways of living and thinking were still wholly under the influence of the country. This was the time when the popular legend,



"if the farmer earns money, everybody earns money," had a great truth in it. But now all this has been changed or is in the process of being changed. Faith in the permanency of the position agriculture holds in the social body has greatly been shaken, and the popular mind is slowly changing its centre of gravitation. It is, then, quite natural that social democracy should attract growing sections of that population, which is loosing faith in the old social beliefs.

Parties evidently on the increase always exert a great attractive influence upon unsettled minds. But in Germany it is not only the numerical growth which enhances the attractive power of social democracy. In the course of time the party has grown in cohesion and working efficiency. There exist so far no comprehensive statistics of its organized members, but from what is known of its local organizations, one may safely conclude that the number of financial members of its branches or local societies exceeds by far the number of the organized members of the agrarian party, the "Bund der Landwirthe, and the several "Bauernbünde" included. Together with their numerical strength these local organizations have improved greatly their inner mechanism. Formerly much hampered by petty police prosecutions, they have now come to stay, the authorities having at length become convinced of the uselessness of their prosecutions. Thus practical experiences have been utilized for the introduction of an elaborated system of division of labor. Societies for whole electoral divisions are divided up into sections for the different towns, town branches have their organizers for the different wards or districts, so that leaflets, etc., can, in cases of need, be distributed in the shortest lapse of time, and on the other hand, the regular contributions for the funds of the party, small as they are, can be and are collected with great punctuality by voluntary cashiers. It is, however, not only the proper organization of the socialist party that works for its hold on the mass of the population. Apart from some districts in the Rhenish provinces and sections of Silesia and a few other provinces, the whole working class movement is now imbued with the spirit of socialism. This is especially the case with the German trade-union movement. The unions called independent are nearly all permeated with the spirit of social democracy. They form the overwhelming majority of German trade-unionism, its real fighting force. Their leaders are nearly all well known socialists, some of them are social democratic members of the Reichstag or other public bodies. The local federations of the German trade-unions which answer to the English trade-councils have created in a great number of towns or industrial centres "Arbeitersckretariate" (labor offices), offices where the working population can get

information on most of the questions concerning their social conditions. The usefulness and popularity of these institutions is well illustrated by their annual reports. To the students of social questions these reports will give invaluable information as regards the life of the working classes, the effect of the labor legislation, and the inner life of the labor movement. Small as are their financial means, these "Arbeidersckretariate"—now thirty-five in number—have in several places carried out most valuable inquiries into the conditions of their working population (questions of housing the people, of the unemployed, etc.); sometimes many hundreds of workers have voluntarily given their service. Now, although in no way officially connected with the social democratic party, these "Arbeidersckretariate" are everywhere regarded by the population as socialist institutions. The spirit of socialism is by the very nature of things the guide of these institutions, and the man of the street obtaining advice from the "Arbeidersckretariate" knows, although in other things he is quite uninformed, that it is from "die Socialen," as the expression goes, he gets information concerning his legal rights and duties. It is the conviction of the writer of these lines that the "Arbeidersckretariate" exert a much greater educating influence in the direction of socialism than was originally planned at their creation, and is expressed in the rules and in the directions for the officials.

The same can be said of the working class coöperative societies, which are now making much headway in Germany. There was a time when the coöperative movement was not looked upon very favorably by social democrats. They did not believe in any kind of economic self-help under the capitalistic system. This opinion is now disappearing and the "Arbeiterkonsumverein" becomes more and more popular. Where it is strong enough to produce some of its commodities in its own workshops, the "Arbeiterkonsumverein" makes it a point of honor to introduce the most advanced conditions of labor. And if elsewhere the coöperative society of the workers was either an absolute no-party organization or could even (as in England) form the recruiting ground for middle class parties, in Germany again it has become an agent for socialism. This has come about in no small degree through the infatuation of the middle class political leaders themselves. The German coöperative movement was led by leaders of the radical party for many years, and even the societies composed of socialists chose to remain inside the great coöperative union represented by these men. But last year the present syndic of the coöperative union, De Crüger, member of the Reichstag for that wing of the radical party which follows Herr Eugen Richter, caused those coöperative societies, which are suspected of socialistic lean-



ings, to be expelled from the union, with the result that these societies and others which have joined them since are now generally regarded as socialistic in spite of their wise policy of maintaining a non-party character. Dr. Crüger who, only at the end of the year 1901, had been elected member of the Reichstag for the division of Wiesbaden, has been beaten at the present election and will not reappear in the house.

It seems that everything which affects the life of the workers is now bound to make for social democracy in Germany. Take for a further example the working class insurance legislation created at the time as a counterpoise to socialism. Most of the organizations for the carrying out of the sick insurance of the workers must, according to the law, have one half or more of the members of their administration elected by the insured workers. Again, some of the bodies for the accident insurance of the workers must elect representatives of the latter as assessors. Then there are the "Gerverbeegerichte" (industrial tribunals), courts for the settlement of petty disputes between industrial employers and employed, which are now to be found in hundreds of towns. For these, too, the workers have to elect their representatives, that is, half of the jurymen, and whilst in most places all of these jurymen belong to socialist bodies, in some cases socialists also have members amongst the jurymen of the employers. It may incidentally be said that the high impartiality of the jurisdiction of these courts is generally recognized.

In consequence of all these different organizations there has been evolved what may be called a socialist labor bureaucracy that counts its members by thousands. You have socialists as legislators and administrators of every kind. The result has been to strengthen enormously the hold of social democracy on the public mind. If today a ruler conceived the idea of destroying the influence of socialism, as Bismarck tried in 1878, he would not only have to dissolve the special organizations of the social democratic party, but also a great number of public institutions—which cannot be done without dissolving the social legislation of half a generation. Where Bismarck failed piteously, he would now fail ten times more miserably. On the other hand, the effect has been that socialists have won and are winning a better insight into the whole wheel-work of modern life and its requirements. A much more realistic spirit prevails in the social democratic movement. In the place of vague sentiments and more or less Utopian generalities, very different criticisms and demands now form the subject of socialist speeches and writings. To the superficial observer it may appear that the socialist movement has lost strength and is frittering its life away in trivial endeavors, but he who

is not deceived by the sounding of phrases, will by a closer investigation see that the movement has grown not only in extension, but also in intensity. Regarded from a middle class point of view, what once was only an outward affliction of the body politic has become in time a constitutional infection, threatening to change its whole organic life.

In fact, social democracy has become in almost every respect a constitutional factor in the life of the German nation. To realize the great change that has set in in this respect you need only examine the part played by the socialist members of the imperial parliament. Formerly the socialist members of the Reichstag felt themselves to be merely occasional visitors, uttering some passionate protests, but not as real members of the house, and they were regarded not only so but in many respects were treated as illegitimate intruders. Undoubtedly many members of the reactionary parties still cherish this feeling, and at least one of them, Herr von Kröcher, was candid enough in the last session to declare that in his opinion socialists were, indeed, fit subjects *for* legislation but they could never *be* legislators. But this amiable member of the old Prussian squirearchy spoke as an "enfant terrible" of his party. Officially, socialists are now treated on the principle of absolute equality. They have a proportional representation in all the committees of the house, and in membership are the second strongest party of the Reichstag and they might have one of their group elected as one of the chairmen of the house were it not that these chairmen have to pay an official visit to the emperor. Hitherto it has not been regarded by socialists as compatible with the republican creed to take part voluntarily in monarchical ceremonies of any kind. But when, in December last, in the height of the parliamentary fight over the tariff bill, all the acting chairmen of the Reichstag submitted tamely to the violation of its constitutional rules by the reactionary majority, the question was raised in socialist circles whether the party was right in foregoing its privilege to a chairmanship because of a mere formality to be fulfilled. And very likely this question will be raised again when the new Reichstag elects its bureau.

If the socialist members of the Reichstag have a proportional share in the composition of its committees, they also take upon themselves an adequate share of committee *work*. In fact, they are often the most active committee members. For many years one of the principal leaders of the party, Paul Singer, has acted as the chairman of the standing orders committee. An exceedingly characteristic irony of facts, by the way. Think of the leader of a party of violent destruction, as socialists are often called by their opponents, elected by representatives of nearly all parties, to the chairmanship of a committee which before all has to



watch over the strict observation of the tradition and the rules of parliament! And Singer does not pose as one of the moderate members of the party. But he is master of all questions of procedure and would make a first-rate chairman of parliament and he is recognized as the great chairman for all socialist congresses.

Socialists have acted as chairmen on other committees and the same holds good of secretaryships and similar parliamentary duties. Division of labor is carried out in a high degree by the socialist group of the Reichstag. A chance is given to every member to act on committees and to acquire competence in this way. No party furnishes a comparatively greater number of speakers in the Reichstag than the social democratic group, and besides its more widely known leaders there are a good many among its members who display a great mastery of legislative matter. This is no vain glorious boast but a fact generally admitted and not seldom very sorrowfully bemoaned by their opponents.

It is in the nature of things that interest in details grows with the mastery of details. And the more the socialist member of the legislation takes up the details of his work the closer will be his grip on new sections of the electorate. The fact that in the first instance he is the representative of the non-possessing wage-earner and has no vested interest to regard, no privileges of property, birth, or position to protect, gives him a freedom of action enjoyed by no other party. If the fight between capital and labor satiates the whole of modern society, in parliament it takes rather the form of the fight of industrial labor of every kind against idle or fossilized property and privilege. This at any rate is the significance of the present political tension in Germany, as it found expression in the fight over the new tariff bill.

Hence the remarkable phenomenon that in a struggle, which practically took the form of a battle of free-traders against protectionists, socialists acted as the very leaders of the free-trade movement. In nearly all countries socialists have at times been rather in favor of protectionism, and even nowadays socialists will be found here and there who manage to combine international sentiment with national protectionism. It is not within the purport of this article to discuss these questions here in the abstract. But as matters are in Germany, national protectionism would mean protection of ground rent against agricultural labor and of the rent of monopolized capitalistic enterprise against industrial and commercial labor. Today protectionism in Germany is in the first instance the result of a compromise, if not a conspiracy between the landed interest and the interest of the great syndicate manufacturers of raw material and half products. That the former fights for *rent* needs

no special explanation. But is not the fight of manufacturing concerns that are protected by high importation duties and organized in corporations—"Hartelle"—to keep up prices, also only a fight for *rent*, even if the income pursued goes by the name of profit or dividend? The policy of the "Hartelle" to exact high prices from the consumer at home and to undersell on foreign markets is too well known to be again described here. But what is not so well known abroad is, that the consumer thus over-charged is in a very great number of cases a manufacturer himself and that thus tens of thousands of employers of every degree with millions of workers behind them have to struggle seriously in consequence of this policy of the "Hartelle." A great triumphant noise is made if Germany exports a growing quantity of pig iron, wrought iron, and steel bars, but few people hitherto realized how this export may damage the manufacturers of machinery, cutlery, and other hardware at home. And that they often *are* damaged has been shown again and again by the tariff committee of the Reichstag. Over seven hundred manufacturers and merchants in the cutlery and implements trade of the Bergish district of Rhenania declared in a petition to the Reichstag that they were ready to renounce every protective duty for their commodity if only the duty of the raw material was done away with. Machine manufacturers show that it would be cheaper to import the several parts of their machines from abroad and only put them together in Germany than have the whole manufactured here with the high prices of the raw materials. A similar cry was brought before the Reichstag by the representatives of the weaving trade, by industrial consumers of leather, of paper, etc. The great mass of the manufacturers of finished goods are not in a position to combine and imitate the policy of the syndicate manufacturers of raw materials and half produce. They cannot over-charge the home consumer on whom they principally depend. They must in consequence be satisfied with much smaller profits. "The spinners are swimming in gold," wailed a representative of the weaving masters before the tariff committee, when the duties on yarn were discussed. In fact, the high dividends of protected industries, which are derived from prices higher than is justified by the conditions of the world market, are only so much *rent*. And in the over-charged trades, workers and manufacturers are alike interested in removing these duties that are the cause of the over-charge.

Not all employees saw this, and not all of those who saw it dared assume the consequences and turn away from the policy of protection. Seeing that the protectionists still had the ears of the powers that be, they preferred to beg some crumbs from the table of protectionism than venture a courageous fight against protection. But a growing number see



that their salvation lies in this way, and again they find the most vigorous fighters for this policy in the social democrats.

At a meeting of the leather trades it was a conservative manufacturer with a high title, who admitted that a member of the social democratic party had advocated more energetically than any one the interests of their trade against their opponents.

Now one of the most important questions the new Reichstag will have to decide is that of the new commercial treaties. It is a matter of course that good treaties will only be obtained by means of concessions, and where these concessions touch agricultural products the agrarians will oppose them with all their might and will up to a certain point find allies among the syndicate manufacturers of raw material and half product. It is impossible for thousands of traders to allow this alliance to decide their fate. Herein is one reason why the always newly dished up proposition of a coöperation of the whole middle classes against social democracy could not be realized.

There are other reasons to prevent this old plan of our reactionists from being carried out. The interests, economic and ideologic, of the different sections of the middle class are too much diversified to be cast in one political mould in a country where remnants of feudalism in many respects hamper the full development of middle class institutions. And whatever people abroad may think of the undoubtedly interesting personality at the head of the German Empire, at home a growing number of people rebel against the increase of personal government.

It is only when the whole society is threatened with a violent revolution or an anarchical state of things, that a general rally under the flag of law and order will meet with success. No doubt the visible progress of social democracy frightens many weak minded persons into the trap set up by the reactionists. And they have in a number of cases been numerous enough to turn the scale of the electoral balance. The "Freisinnige" or radical party has also threatened utter destruction to their opponents; they have at the second ballot in nine out of ten cases thrown in their lot with the reactionists against the socialists and have voted rather for Junker and priest than support a social democrat. Hence the comparatively small number of socialists elected at the second ballot (twenty-five out of one hundred and twenty-two at the second ballot were socialists). But nevertheless the socialists gained much ground at the second ballot. The attitude of the "Freisinnige" has only accentuated the political bankruptcy of the party and at present has led many members of the smaller middle classes to look upon the socialists as the energetic defenders of their rights against the forces of reaction.

The economic evolution of Germany has reached a point where the cost of the maintenance of semi-feudal classes and institutions to which latter, also, German militarism must to a great extent be reckoned, becomes more and more a dead weight on German industry. From this dead weight German industrial and agricultural production must be relieved if the nation, whose geographical position is none too favorable, is to progress. The more obstinately the rulers oppose the redemption of this dead weight and combine with the classes that live by it, the more will the classes that suffer from it be drawn to that party which fights most consistently for their deliverance. And this party is social democracy.

Thus, besides the growing section of wage-earning voters, the social democratic party can boast of a very significant increase of votes from most of the other sections of the population. It returns in greater numerical strength than ever before to the new Reichstag. This increase cannot fail to make itself felt in many respects inside and outside of parliament. The consciousness that more than three million of voters,—one third of the whole voting electorate,—representing the overwhelming majority of the population of all the important towns and industrial centres of the empire are behind them must act as an impetus on socialists for still more vigorous action in parliament. They can and surely will demand a greater hearing for the interests they represent, for the policy on which they are elected. This does, of course, not mean a forcedly violent language. But it does mean forcible demands for industrial reforms and a vigorous opposition against a policy of adventure and a commercial policy of impediments to the progress of free intercourse between the nations.

People do not give the new Reichstag a long life. There is a general feeling abroad that once the Reichstag accepts the new commercial treaties of Count Bülow, that he has in store, he will seize the first opportunity and dissolve the Reichstag and try his luck at a new general election when the *furor teutonicus* can be played out against socialists and thus decrease the number of their votes. Others speak of bolder intentions, such as a tampering with the electoral laws of the empire, i. e., universal suffrage. All of these events may transpire. So much is sure, we may look forward to lively debates in the new Reichstag, and whatever else may happen the social democratic party of Germany will be prepared to meet its opponents and united in their effort to fight, as the old Cobdenite motto goes, for peace, retrenchment, and reform.



# A HISTORY OF ENGLISH LITERATURE<sup>1</sup>

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THE interest felt by not a few persons at the announcement that Dr. Richard Garnett and Dr. Edmond Gosse would collaborate in an "Illustrated History of English Literature," on a large scale, has not been disappointed by the first instalment of the work. The "Publisher's Introduction" tells us that the book is designed to "stimulate and gratify curiosity concerning the leading authors of our country and the evolution of its literary history," and assumes, correctly enough, that this curiosity "appeals to the eye as well as to the ear," in other words, that for many persons good and copious illustrations mean almost if not quite as much as an adequate text. We are further informed, with obvious truth, that no previous work has fulfilled these requirements since it has only just now become possible to utilize thoroughly the results of modern research, and, with equal truth, that the general reader is in danger of being furnished by zealous specialists with more information than he requires rather than with less. With these statements before him no one is warranted in being disappointed at not finding himself confronted by a work similar in character to the well known "*Histoire de la Langue et de la Littérature Française*," edited by Prof. Petit de Julleville or even to the elaborate "*History of American Literature*," designed but only partly finished by the late Prof. Moses Coit Tyler. Nor is it permissible to cavil at the emphasis laid, especially in Dr. Gosse's volume, upon biographical sketches of significant authors, or, in view of the vast array of British writers, to wonder at the omission of this or that name familiar to scholars but of little moment either to the general reader or in the evolution of English literature.

We have, then, in these portly volumes half of a popular sketch or "record" of the development of English literature combined with a select biographical dictionary of English writers, the whole illustrated with unexampled fulness and artistic excellence. The main elements of the undertaking are, of course, not new. English literature has before been treated popularly in a series of volumes, and although what is per-

(1) *English Literature, an Illustrated Record*. In Four Volumes. Volume I. *From the Beginnings to the Age of Henry VIII*. By Richard Garnett, C. B., LL. D., pp. xvi., 368. Volume III. *From Milton to Johnson*. By Edmond Gosse, M. A., LL. D., pp. xii., 381. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1903.

haps the most important series,—the one we owe to Mr. Stopford Brooke, Professor Saintsbury, and Dr. Gosse,—is still marred by a gap, it is really built upon a larger scale than the present work, the text of which, however massive the volumes may seem to be, might easily be got into four not very bulky twelve mos. Nor is a biographical record of English literature in the least a new thing as those will recall who have used Chambers' "Cyclopædia," now being revised; and we have long had for American literature the Duyckincks' two volumes, with their sketches of writers, their extracts from books,—paralleled in a rather exiguous fashion in the present work,—and their not altogether entrancing illustrations. A slightly novel feature in this connection is found in the endeavor, by the use of smaller type and by grouping, to set off the biographical sketches from the historical text proper so that the latter may be read separately if the reader chooses. The resolute separation of the impersonal from the personal elements of the text exemplified in M. Brunetière's "Manual" is not attempted, and, in the third volume at least, the sketches are often curiously huddled together and interrupt the main narrative in a rather exasperating fashion. As for the illustrations, it is needless to say that in kind these could not well be novel. Fac-similes of manuscripts, both illuminated and not, of title pages, of signatures, holograph letters and the like, portraits of writers and of literary patrons, pictures of buildings and places associated with authors, famous illustrations of famous books, these are of necessity the chief appeals to the eye that can be made by a history of literature, and such appeals have all been utilized before, especially in books dealing with the various continental literatures. In copiousness, rarity, and artistic excellence, however, the illustrations used in these volumes more than justify the modest claim of Mr. Heineman, the English publisher, that he has availed himself as fully as he could of the best collections of literary treasures and of improved methods of reproduction.

Of the great and unique value of the work from the point of view of iconography there can, then, be no manner of doubt. The price of the set, which is not high considering the cost of the enterprise, will unfortunately exclude it from many a "gentleman's library," but surely no public or college library should be without it, and every teacher of English literature will try in some way or other to have the use of it. Especially is this true of the first volume, dealing as it does with manuscripts and books that are practically inaccessible. Beside the wealth of illustrations here lavished the illustrating of the first volume of Petit de Julleville, good as it is, looks small, and that of the corresponding portion of M. Faguet's useful "*Histoire de la Littérature Française*," looks



cheap. It would seem in fact that a person not an expert in such matters could find but one fault with the illustrative material, namely, that it has apparently determined the excessive size and weight of the separate volumes. Unfortunately, it is not every one that can divide his energies so evenly between physical and mental exercise as can President Roosevelt, and one can almost imagine that even the President himself would find any protracted handling of these volumes an over-strenuous occupation. But if they are not to be considerably handled, why a popular text? There is probably room for an edition like the present although the paper seems far too thick, but surely with such paper many persons would prefer an edition in eight volumes instead of four, and others will live in hopes of a cheaper edition on thinner paper and with each large inserted illustration folded. The latter may be Philistines or they may belong to the old-fashioned class of readers who prefer an unillustrated text on the plea that it does not tempt to easy, casual reading, but even the most æsthetic reader has only to try to finish one of these volumes in two or three sittings to become thoroughly utilitarian in his censure of unwieldy books that attempt to combine the functions of a manual of information and a portfolio of illustrations.

But a book cannot be a true book and live by illustrations alone. What of the text which, as we have been informed, is also intended to gratify popular "curiosity" as to men and things literary? Before endeavoring to answer this question we may safely felicitate the publisher on his choice of the word "curiosity" to convey his meaning. It may be suspected that curiosity of a not very keen sort is all that can be safely predicated of the average reader so far as concerns the history of literature in general or, indeed, apart from a few classics, literature itself, except such as has just been made or is in the making. Even of professed students and teachers of literature the number interested in the history of literature, properly speaking, is comparatively small, as a slight examination of the field of literary studies, including post-graduate courses in our universities, will speedily show. It may be doubted whether for ten persons who read intelligently and with interest a good biography or an authoritative political or social history, two can be secured to read in the same way a scholarly history of literature, whether native or foreign. Not long since one student of letters, writing to another "apropos" of a recently published history of literature, remarked that it seemed to be well done for that sort of thing but that as for him he preferred essays. Many readers share his preference, which means that they like to be brought into contact with a few great authors and books and that they care very little for the facts relating to the evolution of a literature, for

an exposition of the services of minor writers in paving the way for greater ones, in short, for what may be termed the scientific aspects of literary study. Indeed, many readers and men of letters bitterly resent the application of the term scientific to anything that has to do with literatures, and, in an inurbane fashion not specially indicative of good results from their own contact with the best that has been said and thought, insinuate or assert that the man who studies literature scientifically cannot truly love it.

This is about equivalent to asserting that no student of botany can enjoy the beauty and fragrance of a flower, that it is impossible for scientific and æsthetic interests to be fairly balanced in an individual. Put thus boldly such a contention seems absurd, yet, practically speaking, it is continually being made in our universities by professors against their colleagues, by students against their fellow students. This unfortunate state of affairs is a result of that lack of sympathy with the work of others, of that lack of true catholicity which is one of the greatest of all hindrances to educational progress. It is no wonder, when professed students of literature are thus at loggerheads, that many readers and even general reviewers have an almost complete misunderstanding of the nature and value of literary history. Nine out of ten reviewers praise or condemn a history of literature according as the historian, who deals with hundreds of authors, with the fortunes of this and that form of literature, with the perished books that made possible the surviving book, has or has not treated sympathetically and at sufficient length a few writers dear for one reason or another to the reviewer himself. Yet it ought to be obvious enough that it is the business of the literary historian to view a nation's or a period's literature as a whole and the authors of whom he treats as parts of that whole. It ought to be equally obvious that he does not fill the rôle of an impressionist critic or even of an academic essayist, and that, if he is an historian at all, his place is with the writers of culture history whose work must be carefully documented and at least semi-scientific in character if it is to have any scholarly standing whatever.

It should be observed, on the other hand, that an insistence upon the scholarly and semi-scientific nature of literary history as an intellectual pursuit should in all fairness carry with it the admission that there is no good reason why a strictly constructed history of literature should appeal to the large public much more than an ordinary scientific treatise does. Whatever deals with literature derives from its subject matter a certain prestige, but this can scarcely support a literary history dealing with authors and books of a remote past that means practically nothing to the modern reader. It would seem to follow not only that the public is



within its rights in being comparatively indifferent to histories of literature,—the zeal of the exemplary persons who in the painful process of self-culture read such books because they “ought to” need scarcely be considered in this connection,—but that it is doubtful whether any so-called popular history of literature can in its best estate be much more than a “tour de force” so far as concerns its career as a book for general reading. That popular series of handbooks and manuals continue to appear does not affect the truth of this contention, for the body of professed students and methodical seekers after information is large enough to create a fair demand, to say nothing of the public libraries that are in duty bound to secure such books. Whether true popular interest in literary history will be secured by these manuals and series as well as by the increased attention given to literature in schools and colleges remains to be seen; perhaps this form of history may in time come nearer in general favor to political history and biography. At present, however, it seems safer to rely, as the publisher of these volumes has done, upon public curiosity.

Whether curiosity will carry desultory readers through every page of Dr. Garnett’s volume may be doubted, but it is fairly certain that every reader who accomplishes this physically formidable but not mentally difficult feat will be rewarded. This is apparently Dr. Garnett’s first contribution of importance to the study of the earlier portions of English literature, but it has all the merits that are familiar to readers of the author’s voluminous contributions to literary and political history and to biography. Dr. Garnett’s scholarship is so astonishing in its range and admirable in its quality that it is not clear that he has a living superior; but he is more than a great scholar and librarian, he is a man of letters whose verse and fiction are too good to be comparatively eclipsed by his criticism, excellent as this is. In the present volume the ex-keeper of printed books in the British Museum, whose genial courtesy and hospitality, especially to American students, it is a duty and a pleasure to acknowledge, does not put himself forward as a minute specialist in Old, Early, and Middle English,—an examination of the catalogue of his writings to be found in the reading room of the British Museum will at once show why he does not,—but he exhibits himself as the master of a more than adequate knowledge of all the significant writers and books of his chosen period as well as of that mass of erudite comment which almost buries them as deep, although in a different way, as time in most cases has done.

To his varied knowledge Dr. Garnett adds judgment,—something not always encountered in connection with works dealing with a period more

or less abandoned to specialists. The basis of every form of judgment is, of course, native good sense, but literary judgment is usually developed somewhat in proportion to range of reading, and here Dr. Garnett has an advantage over nearly every other student of our early literature. His range of reading is, as we have seen, enormous, and many a page of his book bears witness to the fact in felicitous comparisons and in enlightening parallels. It is almost needless to add that in style and in handling of materials the volume shows itself to be the work of a practiced writer.

It is divided into ten chapters, the distribution as to periods and topics yielding slight room to cavil. Chaucer is naturally the only writer to demand a chapter to himself, but Langland, Gower, Lydgate, the perplexing Mandeville, and the rest receive due attention—in some cases much more than the æsthetic student would be willing to accord them. Dr. Garnett, however, is a true historian of literature viewing his topics not merely in their literary relations but in their strictly historical setting. Occasionally one may feel that he does not extract from a subject all the psychological interest possible,—for example, from Occleve who is wretched as a poet but curiously interesting as a type of man,—yet one remembers or should remember at once that the historian cannot deal as the essayist can with the personal side of literature. It is more to the point to say that Dr. Garnett's treatment of men and books always seems fair. If he cannot speak of Lydgate with the enthusiasm of Gray and Mr. Clinton Collins, he is, nevertheless, quite too good a critic to berate him, as some famous writers have done, and he is just to his not inconsiderable merits as a descriptive poet. But as we are dealing with "popular" history, it may be as well to drop Lydgate and Occleve, not to mention Barclay and other forgotten worthies, and to point out the chapter entitled "The English Bible—The Miracle Play" as perhaps the one most worthy of the general reader's attention. In importance of matter and lucidity of treatment, it would be difficult to surpass this chapter.

We have, then, to thank Dr. Garnett for an excellent history within moderate compass,—it is by no means the mere "record" promised by the title,—of a period of English literature not hitherto well covered on the same scale and without a gap by a writer native to England. It will not supersede and is not meant to supersede such works as those of Ten Brink, Henry Morley, and Stopford Brooke, but it supplements them admirably both because of its author's individuality and because he has been able to utilize the results of the latest scholarship. If Dr. Gosse, who is to treat the Elizabethan period, succeeds as well as Dr. Garnett has done in this volume we shall have in the four volumes of this work, the fourth of which has also been entrusted to Dr. Gosse, a complete



history of English literature which in its illustrations will be unique and in its text very satisfactory to all save minute scholars. There is, of course, still need of a scholarly work of the type of Petit de Julleville's, with a supplement dealing with the literature of the United States and of the British colonies, and it is still a natural or racial disgrace that the best elaborate account of English literature as a whole,—perhaps the only work on the entire subject,—that is approximately philosophical and is itself an important contribution to literature, is due to a Frenchman.

The thought of Taine suggests a thought of another great French student of literature, the chief authority for that mediæval period covered for England by Dr. Garnett's volume, the late Gaston Paris. A recollection of him need not suggest invidious comparisons but may be utilized to draw our attention to the noble preface which he furnished to the first volume of Petit de Julleville. Logically a Frenchman has a harder task in recommending the study of his own early literature than has an Englishman or an American, although so far as concerns popular interest the three are on comparatively even terms. One sentence in particular from Gaston Paris' preface gives a point of view from which such a volume as this of Dr. Garnett's or such a history of literature as the late Prof. M. C. Tyler's must possess genuine interest in the eyes of every reader capable of exercising the historical imagination. Such works are interesting:—

“Parce qu'il est interessant de saisir, dans cette différence même, des ressemblances qui sin prennent et qui charment, comme ces constatations qu'on fait parfois, sin sa propre personne, d'un atavisme dont on n'avait pas conscience et qui semble ouvrir un jour soudain sin les sources les plus profondes et les plus mystérieuses de la vie.”

But it is time to pass from Dr. Garnett's book. That it exhibits many merits and some defects which cannot be enlarged upon here goes without saying. For example, the superiority of Wyatt to Surrey as a lyrist and of the latter to the former as an artist is brought out so well as to demand commendation, and, to turn back three hundred pages, the services of Alfred the Great to English letters are inspiringly recorded. On the other hand, one may question whether the fine passages of natural description in “Beowulf” are sufficiently recognized and praised; one may laugh or grieve over the reference to “the American professor, Francis Childs”; one may whimsically wish a word had been spared for the verse of Sir Thomas More. It is better to smile contentedly at Dr. Garnett's frequent sallies of true humor and to assure him that no competent reader is likely to say of his book as he was compelled to say of

Steinhold and Hopkins' metrical version of the Psalms,—that it is a work of necessity rather than of mercy.

Dr. Gosse's volume suggests a cursory "record" more closely than does Dr. Garnett's,—indeed, he himself calls it "a summary sketch." This may be due in part to a stricter following out of the plan of the work, but probably is to be accounted for also by the greater pressure of biographical material and by the fact that, unlike Dr. Garnett, Dr. Gosse, dealing with a period he has already treated in a fuller history, constantly incurred the risk of seeming merely to repeat himself. He has managed most skilfully to avoid the imputation of giving his readers a tale told twice by himself, although, as has been said, the arrangement of the biographical sketches and of the selections often disturbs the flow of the text in a way that will irritate some readers. The book reads itself easily, however, and if occasionally the style seems to give evidence of hurry, it might fairly be contended that in many pages and passages its author is as graceful and illuminating as in anything he has previously written. It would be pleasant to cull his striking sentences—for example, this with regard to Milton, "His brain was not an empty conventicle, stored with none but the necessities of devotion; it was hung round with the spoils of paganism and garlanded with Dionysiac ivy." Such an anthology is not wanted here, but the fact that it might be made should keep us from emphasizing the trivial not to say gossippy character of some of the biographical information, and from expostulating against the excessive depreciation of Milton's prose, the slight attention given to Marbell, and other similar matters. Dr. Gosse, as he states in his preface, has carefully considered the great array of writers falling within his field, and has enlarged upon them, omitted them, or sleighted them, as seemed best in his judgment. That he will not always carry the assent of his readers and critics has been clear to him from the start, and he has doubtless provided himself with a store of courteous smiles of explanation and defence which he need not draw upon so far as the present article is concerned.

The special merits of Dr. Gosse's instalment seem to be three in number. The first is his resolute grasp upon the essential facts of literary evolution and his power to make his narrative give the reader the proper sense of movement. The merit was abundantly seen in the volume entitled "Modern English Literature," contributed by Dr. Gosse some years since to his well known series of short literary histories. The second is his constant comparison of English with other literatures,—in the case of this volume necessarily with French literature in the main,—a merit which he shares with his collaborator, Dr. Garnett. The third



and perhaps the most important of the three, is his clear perception of the fact that literature is not a term to be narrowed by the arbitrary limitations imposed by adherents of a cramped and on the whole barren system of æsthetics. In other words, he recognizes that the intellect as well as the imagination has its part to play in literary creation, and he perceives with unerring sagacity the importance to English literature and the English mind of the often calumniated period from 1660 to 1780 and in particular of the two great poets so frequently denied the homage that is their due,—John Dryden and Alexander Pope. That one and the same writer should be able to give us in one volume such admirable appreciations as we find here of the poetry of these two men and of John Milton is a sign, let us hope, that the day, or rather the night of chaotic impressionism in criticism is wearing to its close. But perhaps this paper may fittingly come to an abrupt close with the following quotation, which ostensibly applies to the ending of the seventeenth century, yet is not without its lessons to the opening of the twentieth:—

“All this is much out of fashion nowadays, and to our impressionist critics, eager for sensations,—for the ‘new note,’ for an ‘individual manner’,—must seem preposterous and ridiculous. But a writer like Dryden, responsible for the movement of literature in the years immediately succeeding the Restoration, had a grave task before him. He was face to face with a bankruptcy; he had to float a new concern on the spot where the old had sunken. That uniformity of manner, that lack of salient and picturesque individuality, which annoy the hasty reader, were really unavoidable. Dryden and Follotson, Locke and Olway, with their solicitude for lucidity of language, rigidity of form, and closeness of reasoning, were laying anew the foundations upon which literature might once more be built. It is better to build upon Malherbe and Dryden, even if we think the ground plan a little dull, than upon Marínó and Góngora.”

# LYNCHING

## JOSEPH B. BISHOP

NEW YORK

**T**HERE are many signs that the Wilmington lynching of last June has startled the country out of a dangerous condition of mind toward this form of anarchy. That thousands of intelligent people in the North had come to look upon it, not merely with indifference but with approval, cannot be denied. One heard approval expressed on all sides, and so strong was the current running in that direction that disapproval could scarcely be expressed without calling forth the taunt, "Then you are in favor of rape." The arguments put forth in the South were accepted as satisfactory. It was believed that the lynchings were confined nearly or quite entirely to one form of crime, that they were inspired by a stern and even righteous determination to secure swift and sure justice, and that they were resorted to in order to spare the victims of that crime the humiliation of testifying in open court. That all these arguments are based upon misrepresentation, that they are partly false and wholly specious can be shown by statistics whose accuracy is beyond question. The shock of the Wilmington incident turned the attention of the whole country to this subject, and the result has been a "campaign of education" that cannot fail to be of lasting value. One could but smile to see such headings in the newspapers as "Lynching is Anarchy" and "Law is the Bulwark of Social Order," but these only showed the extraordinary condition of the public mind. Surely a civilized nation that needed to be told that lynching was anarchy, and needed to have the information backed up with argument and reasoning had drifted far from its moorings.

The Wilmington affair was certainly well calculated to give the needed shock of alarm. It did not occur in a frontier community, or in a back county of a southern State, but in a city situated midway between New York and Washington, and within little more than a hundred miles of either place. It was a thoroughly civilized city in a thoroughly civilized State, and yet in it a mob of five thousand people, aroused to blind fury by the incendiary appeals of a professed Christian minister, overpowered the officers of the law, took the execution of the law out of the hands of the courts, and seizing a criminal put him to death by torture in the presence of women and children. "Public sentiment here," said the news despatches, "as far as expressed appears to approve



the lynching." For several days the mob held full sway, overawing both the city and the state government, and emerging from the trial of strength virtually supreme. The clergyman who had incited the mob to its crime was so incapable of realizing the awful responsibility that rested upon him that he was able to say after the fiendish act was ended: "I believe that if the judges had granted, even yesterday, the request for a speedy trial the machinery of the law would have brought about what was accomplished last night. I trust the lesson of this terrible calamity will impress men of similar passions, warning them of the dangers of sin, and also impress upon our courts the need for speedy justice in infamous crimes." Other clergymen in the North, in Chicago, and elsewhere, took a similar view, assuming that speedy justice was the impelling motive of the crime, and that lynching was justifiable in all such offenses. It was also assumed by them that the mob that tortured the negro to death was composed mainly of respectable citizens who took the law into their own hands because the machinery of the law was either slow or could not be trusted to deal out impartial justice. A Brooklyn clergyman of a far different type from those quoted above, went to Wilmington to investigate these points and reported after his return that the mob was not composed of "representative, respectable citizens," as the accounts stated, but of the most disorderly and vicious elements of the community, including several ex-convicts. There was no more tangible ground for the second assumption, namely, that the courts could not be trusted to give speedy justice. Like the "respectable mob" contention, that was a falsehood invented to excuse a brutal and unjustifiable crime.

Before considering the question of the constitution of lynching mobs, and the motives which impel them, let us examine the statistics of lynchings for the past twenty years. These have been compiled each year by the Chicago "Tribune," and are as follows:—

1882	.	.	52	1893	.	.	200
1883	.	.	39	1894	.	.	190
1884	.	.	53	1895	.	.	171
1885	.	.	164	1896	.	.	131
1886	.	.	136	1897	.	.	156
1887	.	.	128	1898	.	.	127
1888	.	.	143	1899	.	.	107
1889	.	.	127	1900	.	.	115
1890	.	.	176	1901	.	.	135
1891	.	.	192	1902	.	.	96
1892	.	.	241	1903, seven months,			52
				Total,			2,941

The division among the States for the last ten years has been as follows:—

Alabama	145	Mississippi	155
Arkansas	94	New York	1
California	15	North Carolina	22
Colorado	17	West Virginia	15
Delaware	1	Indian Territory	18
Florida	81	Oklahoma	36
Georgia	161	Nevada	2
Idaho	1	North Dakota	3
Illinois	12	Oregon	2
Indiana	16	Ohio	5
Iowa	4	South Carolina	52
Nebraska	8	Pennsylvania	2
Wisconsin	1	South Dakota	6
Arizona	3	Texas	113
Kansas	17	Tennessee	96
Kentucky	66	Virginia	47
Louisiana	150	Washington	11
Michigan	2	Wyoming	4
Maryland	13	New Mexico	8
Minnesota	4	Alaska	4
Montana	7		
Missouri	43	Total,	1,483

As to the offenses, an analysis of the lynchings for the five years between 1896 and 1900, made up from the Chicago "Tribune's" record, shows the following:—

## 1896.

Murder . . . . .	24	Arson . . . . .	2
Attempted murder . . . .	4	Assault . . . . .	3
Rape . . . . .	31	Unknown cause . . . . .	1
Incendiarism . . . . .	2	Slapping a child . . . . .	1
No cause . . . . .	2	Shooting at officer . . . .	1
Alleged rape . . . . .	2	Alleged murder . . . . .	2
Cattle stealing . . . . .	1	Threats . . . . .	1
Miscegenation . . . . .	2	Passing counterfeit money .	1
Attempted rape . . . . .	4	Murderous assault . . . . .	1
Theft . . . . .	1		



## LYNCHING

## 1897.

Murder . . . . .	55	Writing insulting letter . . . . .	1
Attempted rape . . . . .	8	Cattle thief . . . . .	1
Mistaken identity . . . . .	1	Felony . . . . .	1
Arson . . . . .	3	Train wrecking . . . . .	1
Murderous assault . . . . .	2	Rape . . . . .	22
Running quarantine . . . . .	1	Race prejudice . . . . .	1
Burglary . . . . .	1	Alleged arson . . . . .	1
Bad reputation . . . . .	1	Robbery . . . . .	6
Unknown offense . . . . .	3	Assault . . . . .	2
Killing white cap . . . . .	1	Disobeying federal regulations	1
Attempted murder . . . . .	1	Theft . . . . .	2
Insulting white woman . . . . .	1	Elopement . . . . .	1
Suspected arson . . . . .	1	Concealing murderer . . . . .	1
Giving evidence . . . . .	2	Refusing to give evidence . . . . .	1

## 1898.

Murder . . . . .	42	Theft . . . . .	6
Rape . . . . .	14	Miscegenation . . . . .	1
Attempted rape . . . . .	7	Unknown offense . . . . .	2
Complicity in rape . . . . .	1	Violation of contract . . . . .	1
Highway robbery . . . . .	1	Insult . . . . .	2
Burglary . . . . .	1	Race prejudice . . . . .	3
Mistaken identity . . . . .	1	Resisting arrest . . . . .	1
Arson . . . . .	1	Suspected murder . . . . .	13
Murderous assault . . . . .	1	Assaults upon whites . . . . .	4

## 1899.

Murder . . . . .	23	Arson . . . . .	8
Robbery . . . . .	6	Unknown offense . . . . .	4
Inflammatory language . . . . .	1	Resisting arrest . . . . .	1
Desperado . . . . .	1	Mistaken identity . . . . .	1
Complicity in murder . . . . .	3	Aiding escape of murderer . . . . .	3
Rape . . . . .	11	Attempted rape . . . . .	8

## 1900.

Murder . . . . .	30	No offense . . . . .	1
Rape . . . . .	16	Arson . . . . .	2
Attempted assault . . . . .	12	Suspicion of arson . . . . .	1
Race prejudice . . . . .	9	Aiding escape of murderer . . . . .	1
Plot to kill whites . . . . .	2	Unpopularity . . . . .	1
Suspected robbery . . . . .	1	Making threats . . . . .	1

Giving testimony . . . . .	1	Informer . . . . .	1
Attacking white men . . . . .	3	Robbery . . . . .	2
Attempted murder . . . . .	4	Burglary . . . . .	4
Threat to kill . . . . .	1	Assault . . . . .	2
Suspected murder . . . . .	2	Unknown offense . . . . .	2

It will be seen at a glance that lynching is not confined to a "particular offense," but that, on the contrary, in a large majority of cases it is for other crimes, many of them trivial and all of them susceptible of proper and just consideration nowhere except in court. The analysis thus demonstrates the falsity of the chief argument which is made in defence of lynching. It shows too clearly for dispute the utter impossibility of confining this form of anarchy to one offense, and that once the mob is permitted to take the law into its own hands no limits can be placed to its exercise of power.

Surely the world does not need a new lesson on this point, does not need to learn by actual experience that when law is suspended anarchy reigns in its stead. Neither does it need to learn that anarchy is brutal, bloodthirsty, and inhuman. The history of the French Revolution, of the draft riots in New York City in 1863, of the recent massacre of Jews in Russia, all tell the same story. Not love of justice animates a mob, but savage thirst for blood. No mob that the world has known has been composed of reputable, law abiding citizens, nor will the world ever see such an one. Do the upholders of lynching, in the pulpit and out of it, realize what the great difference between civilized government and anarchy is? Did they ever bend their minds upon the question of why society maintains courts, police, militia, and an army? Is it for the purpose of keeping the virtuous and intelligent and orderly elements of the community from committing crimes of various sorts, including those of violence? Is it not rather for the purpose of keeping in check the disorderly and vicious and criminal elements of the community? Is not the whole force of society, based upon a government of law limited and guided by law, exerted constantly to keep these disorderly and vicious and criminal elements from gaining the upper hand? Who come to the front when law is suspended and lynching is substituted in its place? These very enemies of social order who are quick to perceive that the thongs which hold them down have been cut. They came to the front in New York City in 1863, when partisan opposition to the draft laws gave them reason for thinking that public opinion would support defiance of law. All the elements of crime and vice and disorder in the metropolis united their forces to resist the efforts of a governor, morally weakened



by political ambition and partisanship, to enforce the draft. Having been told that the war was being waged to free negroes and that hence the negroes were the real cause of the effort of the national government to make them bear arms in the war, the members of the mob directed their fury against them. They attacked and burned the colored orphan asylum, chased every negro, man, woman, or child, who appeared upon the streets, and when they caught them hanged them to the nearest lamp-post or tree. The two hundred inmates of the orphan asylum were saved from a horrible death, either by burning or violence, by being taken away through the back doors of the building and guarded in a police station till they could be removed to Blackwell's Island. During the three days of riot eighteen persons were killed, eleven of whom were negroes. Many of the latter were hanged to lamp-posts or trees, and in several instances burning, of the Wilmington style, was added as a supplementary torture. Col. N. J. O'Brien, who had dispersed one gang of rioters with a force of fifty militiamen, was set upon later by a mob of a thousand men, who caught him alone in the street, and beat him to death and so frightfully mangled his body that it was unrecognizable.

This was simply savage thirst for blood. It was the first and inevitable result of substituting anarchy in the place of law. Whether the victim was innocent or criminal made no difference to the mob, any more than it did in Joplin, Mo., in April last, when a mob hanged an unknown tramp negro on mere suspicion that he had killed a policeman who had been found shot, and then marched to the negro section of the city, burning the houses and driving the inmates out of town. About the same date a negro was lynched and burned in Shreveport, La., for a crime for which he was almost immediately afterward discovered to be innocent. In June last, a negro was lynched in Arkansas for breaking the arm of a white man with whom he had quarreled, and in Alabama three negroes were lynched for taking part in a drunken row in which a white man was killed. In July last, in another southern State, a negro was seized, tied to a tree, and his body riddled with bullets on suspicion of committing an assault of which he was innocent, and of which the actual criminal was found a few hours later. The mob in Wilmington followed up its lynching and burning of White with assaults upon every negro that came within its sight. Thirst for blood was the dominating instinct in one and all of these outbreaks of anarchy, as it always has been and always will be.

The application of torture by fire in the Wilmington lynching was not a new feature of this method of securing swift and sure justice which commends itself to some of our clergymen. It is a familiar feature of

southern "lynching bees," and has been described with much detail in southern journals. One instance in particular which occurred in Georgia, in April, 1899, aroused the horror of the whole country, but so short is the public memory that few persons recollect it now. In order that northern defenders of anarchistic punishment for a particular crime may see what use a mob is capable of making of this supreme power, I append the account of this affair which was published in the Atlanta "Constitution" of April 23, 1899:—

"Newman, Ga., April 23. (Special). Sam Hose, the Negro murderer of Alfred Cranford and the assailant of Cranford's wife, was burned at the stake one mile and a quarter from this place this afternoon at 2:30 o'clock. Fully two thousand people surrounded the small sapling to which he was fastened and watched the flames eat away his flesh, saw his body mutilated by knives, and witnessed the contortions of his body in his extreme agony.

"Such suffering has seldom been witnessed, and through it all the Negro uttered hardly a cry. During the contortions of his body several blood vessels bursted. The spot selected was an ideal one for such an affair, and the stake was in full view of those who stood about and with unfeigned satisfaction saw the Negro meet his death and saw him tortured before the flames killed him.

"A few smoldering ashes scattered about the place, a blackened stake, are all that is left to tell the story. Not even the bones of the Negro were left in the place, but were eagerly snatched by a crowd of people drawn here from all directions, who almost fought over the burning body of the man, carving it with knives, and seeking souvenirs of the occurrence.

"Preparations for the execution were not necessarily elaborate and it required only a few minutes to arrange to make Sam Hose pay the penalty of his crime. To the sapling Sam Hose was tied, and he watched the cool, determined men who went about arranging to burn him.

"First he was made to remove his clothing, and when the flames began to eat his body it was almost nude. Before the fire was lighted his left ear was severed from his body. Then his right ear was cut away. During this proceeding he uttered not a groan. Other portions of his body were mutilated by the knives of those gathered about him, but he was not wounded to such an extent that he was not fully conscious and could feel the excruciating pain. Oil was poured over the wood that was placed about him and this was ignited.

"The scene that followed is one that never will be forgotten by those who saw it, and while Sam Hose writhed and performed contortions in his agony, many of those present turned away from the sickening sight, and others could hardly look at it. Not a sound but the crackling of the flames broke the stillness of the place, and the situation grew more sickening as it proceeded."

That is not the only instance of its kind. The eager search for "relics" has characterized most of the lynchings, both those in which death at the stake has been adopted and those in which death by hanging or shooting has been the method. Women and children assist in piling



fuel upon the flames and in securing relics. The brutalizing effect of such scenes upon those who witness them of itself constitutes a menace to the public welfare, second only to the peril which lies in letting loose the lawless and criminal forces of the population. The law must be upheld or civilization will give way to barbarism. Did any of the defenders of lynching for a particular crime ever think of the effect of a lynching, not only tolerated but approved by an entire community, upon the disorderly and criminal elements of that community who take the lead in it? Does it inspire these elements with a respect for law and a willingness to submit to the domination of the law? What would be the effect upon these elements in every part of the land if press and pulpit generally should condone and approve of lynching for one particular crime? Does experience up to the present time justify the belief that lynching can be limited to this crime? Does it justify the belief that it can be confined to the South?

Lynching is itself murder. There is no possibility of denying that. When an entire community justifies murder and insists that the murderers shall go free, and when Christian ministers take the same view and newspapers uphold it, what is the effect upon the disorderly and vicious and criminal elements of the land? Can these elements be trusted to confine their defiance of law to a particular offense or a single race? Would the clergymen of New York or Chicago who talk emotional twaddle, like to have a lynching for this particular crime take place in either of those cities? Would they like to take the responsibility for letting loose the disorderly and vicious and criminal elements in one of those cities for just one lynching? Yet if the mania were to spread, and it would spread with steadily augmenting fury if soft words about lynching were to continue to pour forth from soft heads in pulpit and press, no city in the land would be safe against it. It requires no prophetic gift to see that. There is an awful menace in the words of that negro preacher who, with no more and no less discretion or Christian spirit than his white brother of Wilmington had shown, advised his congregation soon after the lynching there to be a "law unto yourselves, be your own court, sheriff, and jury," because, "with a court, law, and officers of the law in the white man's hands, the despised negro can expect no mercy, justice, or protection."

Said Justice Brewer of the United States Supreme Court in July last, "Every man who takes part in the burning or lynching of negroes is a murderer, and should be so considered in the eyes of the law." It will not do to say that for any one crime, no matter how hellish and abhorrent, law may be set aside and anarchy put in its place. There is no more

abhorrent or awful crime than the murder of a President of the United States, yet in the three instances in which that has blackened our annals the American people have stood with bowed heads and stricken hearts, "in the passion of an angry grief," and waited for the law to take its course. If the ordinary process of justice was adequate in those cases, it is surely adequate for all others. Lynching for one crime leads to lynching for any and all crimes, and lynching of negroes will lead to lynching of men of all colors. Thirst for blood is the first instinct of anarchy. Neither will it do to assume that lynching can be permitted in any part of the land and not extend to all other parts. Already the lynching of negroes has advanced from the South into Illinois, Ohio, and Pennsylvania, and has been accompanied there with as horrible brutalities as have ever marked it in the South. No man can tell when it may invade any northern State, should an excuse for it be given. Above and beyond all other peril, hangs the menace of a race war unless the nation shows both the inclination and the ability to enforce the law impartially upon all persons without regard to color or to crime. The intelligent American who can see that awful cloud hovering on the horizon and not do everything in his power to dispel it is a very poor patriot. There is only one sure way to keep it from rising and spreading, and that is to make our government in every section of the land a government of law.

That a popular reaction on this subject has already begun is apparent in many ways. The firm and vigorous action of the governor of Indiana in using the military force of the State to suppress a mob, which in July last, stormed a jail at Evansville, demolished barns, and sacked shops for weapons in their desire to lynch a negro prisoner, acted like a moral tonic upon the befuddled minds of thousands of people. Even the South is beginning to perceive that the supremacy of law is essential to the stability of social order. In Alabama since the beginning of the present year, ten negroes have been tried in court, convicted, and executed legally for murder or robbery, and during that period there have been only four lynchings. Sheriffs and other officers of the law are making firmer and more successful resistance to mob demands, and southern journals and public men are taking a sounder position than they have held heretofore. The specious plea that lynching is justifiable in order to spare women victims from the humiliation of testifying in court is seldom heard now, for there is no answer to the question, "Why cannot the judges spare them that humiliation by private examination?" It is especially noteworthy that in Georgia, the State which leads the record in number of lynchings, perception of the peril which lies in the practice is especially acute. The Atlanta "Constitution," which in the past looked with a condoning



if not with an approving eye upon lynchings for a particular offense, has recently taken the sound position that the nature of the crime does not in any manner justify departure from lawful methods of punishment, that "anarchy is the rejection of government," and that the "only excuse that can possibly be pleaded in justification of lynch law is that the State is disbanded." It points out, as I have done in the foregoing pages, that lynching is no longer confined to a particular crime, but is fast being applied to all crimes, and adds:—

"The time when the lynching of a certain breed of brutes could be winked at because of satisfaction that punishment came to him quickly and to the uttermost has given way to a time when the greater peril to society is the mob itself that does the work of vengeance. Against the growth of that evil the best sense of the nation needs to combine and enforce an adequate protection."

The Macon "Telegraph," of the same State, takes quite similar ground and touches upon one other aspect of the case about which I have deferred comment till the last. It said, in July last, speaking for the South, "We should be honest with ourselves on the subject; we know that race antagonism is the moving motive of those crimes which the black perpetrates against the white, and we know that race antagonism is the cause of the black man's consequent swift finish at the end of a rope or amid the fagots." The Macon editor also says with frankness and truth that "hypocrisy about lynching, instead of bringing the practice to a shamed close, seems rather to encourage it." That race hatred is the impelling force of the lynchings in the South cannot be disputed. Combined with a savage thirst for blood, which is its natural ally and inevitable recruit, it is responsible for all these crimes. It is the same spirit which led to the formation of the Ku-Klux-Klan and the Regulators. Bad as the record is in the South for the past ten years, it is encouraging when compared with that of the period between 1865 and 1872, when negroes were murdered wholesale by the Ku-Klux-Klan simply because they were negroes and were seeking to exercise their constitutional right to vote. The isolated cases of lynching, which have been diminishing quite steadily since 1892, when they reached their largest number, horrible and unjustifiable as they are, are mild outbreaks of race hatred and savage thirst for blood when compared with the massacres of Yazoo, Hamburg, Edgefield, and Copiah of the Ku-Klux reign of terror. The South saw the peril of that relapse into anarchy and barbarism and turned itself away from it. It is now perceiving that the same peril is menacing it in another but no less insidious form and there are strong grounds for the belief that it will turn itself away from this also before many years shall have passed.

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M D C C C C I I I

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POLITICAL SATIRE

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**K** IPLING'S primeval devil, who mocked and gibed with his sneering question, "But is it Art?" might be claimed as congener of the original political satirist. The civil leer, the grin, the burlesque, appear to have been instinctive weapons of man, and as soon as human government began, it doubtless began to be satirized. Jotham's parable of the trees choosing the bramble to reign over them shows how early was employed a form of "lèse-majesté" with which it was difficult for the rulers in Israel to deal. You cannot imprison a gesture. Laughter cannot be handcuffed. Open rebellion may be put down, but what is outraged authority to do with dislike just hesitated in allegory or fable? Aristophanes, as we know, was exceeding bold. In the "Clouds" he boasts that he "struck Cleon in the belly when at the height of his power." But even the great satirist of Greece had really to hint his meaning, and was compelled to be on his guard. Cleon was always, discreetly, "the Paphlagonian," or was girded at in punning plays upon his name. His vulgar demagogue's ways were brought out in all their grossness only by their being held up to the mirror of his impudent outbidder,—the sausage seller. By the time Tacitus wrote, it was possible for him, with his guillotine phrases, to be a public executioner only half in shadow, while Juvenal, that "Tacitus of the private life," as he has been called, immortalized the satire by name. In the modern world, the satirical art has flourished most where men were freest; which



accounts for the fact that English literature is so rich in political satire. France probably comes next.

To bring a government into ridicule is the natural desire, as it is the assumed task, of the Opposition. Hence it is that political satire is usually the work of the outs. Those in power have to preserve, or try to, the dignity of office, and to present an Olympian front to the slings and arrows of their detractors. Yet this makes it all the easier to exaggerate the pride and lampoon the pomposity of mortals clothed with a little brief authority. Such satirical attack is not only effective, but is often the only form of political assault available. What can you do with inflated dullness in high places? You cannot argue with it. It is all very well to furnish arguments, but who will supply the understanding? Darts of raillery can better puncture a swollen sense of importance than can direct buffets knock the folly out of it. Suppose the case more grievous. Let there be a fanatical or tyrannical monarch in power, or an overweening Directorate, or a First Consul with his clutch on the country's throat,—satire may be for a time the only sword within the grasp of liberty. You may have to submit to a despot, but you can cover him with inextinguishable laughter; you can make him hateful, contemptible, pitiable, according as you have mastery over the resources of the satirist. Terrify the newspaper press, and the pamphlet and pasquinade remain; hunt these to earth, and the café and salon have to be reckoned with. "The salons were then open," remarked Napoleon bitterly at St. Helena, referring to a time when his embarrassments were thickening upon him.

These considerations help to make clear what otherwise might seem surprising,—the fact, namely, that political satire has so largely been employed in the service of human freedom and progress. This does not mean that all the wit is out of power, and only stupidity in office. But wit in high station has a way of undergoing what Lowell called "a professor-change." It has to become magisterial and solemn. It dares not publicly unbend. The cares of state weight it down. There's a formality doth hedge a minister which admits of his doing wise things, but not of saying them,—to paraphrase Charles II.'s retort. To being so conspicuous an exception to this general rule, the "Anti-Jacobin" owes a great part of its almost unique distinction in English satire. It had style, of course, by the antiseptic property of which it was preserved and is still enjoyable, but its really remarkable quality was that it satirized the French Revolution and brought into ridicule those aspirations and bright hopes which that world-shaking cataclysm carried across the Channel. The strange thing was to find learning and vivacious humor rising in defence of the established order. This was nearly a reversal

of the ordinary rules of satirical combat,—Laertes changing rapiers with Hamlet. Swift had, of course, emptied his vitriolic satire upon the heads of high and low; Dryden had satirized right and left and been satirized in turn :—

“—venial vices, in a milder age,  
Could rouse the warmth of Pope’s satiric rage,”

but it was left for Canning,—“youthful Canning guides the rancorous quill,”—and Frere and Ellis and the other writers of the “Anti-Jacobin” to turn the laugh on the mockers themselves. Where Burke attacked them with his vehement and almost frantic eloquence, where others cowered before them in terror, Canning plied them with his irritating banderillas. Take these stanzas from “The Jacobin” (one cannot be denied the pleasure of quoting from the pieces least familiar) as an example of the exasperating ridicule which was used with such powerful public effect :—

“I am a hearty Jacobin,  
Who own no God, and dread no sin,  
Ready to dash through thick and thin  
For Freedom ;

“And when the Teachers of Chalk-Farm  
Gave Ministers so much alarm,  
And preached that Kings did only harm,  
I fee’d ’em.

“By Bedford’s cut I’ve trimmed my locks,  
And coal-black is my knowledge-box,  
Callous to all, except hard knocks  
Of thumpers ;

“My eye a noble fierceness boasts,  
My voice as hollow as a ghost’s,  
My throat oft washed by Faction’s Toasts  
In bumpers.

“Whatever is in France is right ;  
Terror and blood are my delight ;  
Parties with us do not excite  
Enough rage.

“Our boasted Laws I hate and curse,  
Bad from the first, by age grown worse,  
I pant and sigh for univers-  
al suffrage.”



To cite once more, the "Elegy on the Death of Jean Bon St. André" will scarce bear cutting:—

"All in the town of Tunis,  
In Africa the torrid,  
On a Frenchman of rank  
Was played such a prank,  
As Lepaux must think quite horrid.

"No story half so shocking  
By kitchen fire or laundry,  
Was ever heard tell—  
As that which befell  
The great Jean Bon St. André.

"Poor John was a gallant Captain,  
In battles much delighting ;  
He fled full soon  
On the first of June—  
But he bade the rest keep fighting.

"To Paris then returning,  
And recovered from his panic,  
He translated the plan  
Of Paine's 'Rights of Man,'  
Into language Mauritanic.

"He went to teach at Tunis,—  
Where as Consul he was settled—  
Amongst other things,  
That the people were kings !  
Whereat the Dey was nettled.

"The Moors being rather stupid,  
And in temper somewhat mulish,  
Understood not a word  
Of the Doctrine they heard,  
And thought the Consul foolish.

"He formed a Club of Brothers,  
And moved some resolutions—  
'Ho ! ho ! (says the Dey),  
So this is the way  
That the French make revolutions.'

"The Dey then gave his orders  
In Arabic and Persian—  
'Let no more be said—

But bring me his head !  
These Clubs are my aversion.'

"The Consul quoted Wicquefort,  
And Puffendorf and Grotius ;  
And proved from Vattel  
Exceedingly well  
Such a deed would be quite atrocious.

" ' T would have moved a Christian's bowels  
To hear the doubts he stated ;  
But the Moors they did  
As they were bid,  
And strangled him while he prated.

"His head with a sharp-edged sabre  
They severed from his shoulders,  
And stuck it on high,  
Where it caught the eye,  
To the wonder of all beholders.

"This sure is a doleful story  
As e'er you heard or read of—  
If at Tunis you prate  
Of matters of state,  
Anon they cut your head off !

"But we hear the French Directors  
Have thought the point so knotty ;  
That the Dey having shown  
He dislikes Jean Bon,  
They have sent him Bernadotte."

Such admirable fooling, together with the deft classical allusion and mordant personal satire which marked the successive numbers of the "Anti-Jacobin," made it a formidable antagonist. And yet, when all was said, doubt remains whether it had the best of the fight. For a time, and in a government largely representing privilege instead of rights, the course of events seemed to assign it the victory. There were all the while, however, spokesmen of the many, who did not intermit their attacks upon a rule in the interest of the few. One remembers how Cobbett, in his "Political Register," came back at the "Trading Anti-Jacobins." You can almost hear the thud of his bludgeon:—

"I have long delayed the execution of justice, in a set and formal manner, upon this race of politicians.

"I have often called them *traders*, *regular traders*, and the like ; and



have occasionally shown how dearly the people of England have paid for the *loyalty* of the said traders. I have said, many times, that they found Anti-Jacobinism a thriving trade; and that, therefore, they were unwilling to give it up. \* \* \* Many and, indeed, the greater part of the nation have long been convinced that there was no such thing as Jacobinism existing in the country, and that the cry of Jacobinism, set up against every man who complained of abuses or corruptions, was a mere lure, a mere contrivance, to deceive honest and uninformed men. But it was not till Mr. Wardle came out with his exposures that the whole nation saw clearly to the bottom of this villainous deception. \* \* \*

"Now they are completely undeceived. Now they see that a Jacobin means a man who endeavors to root out corruptions and to prevent public robbery; and that, as the word imports, an Anti-Jacobin means exactly the contrary. Still, however, it will be useful to expose the traffic of Anti-Jacobinism. Hitherto we have considered it as something of a *sectarian* or *political* nature; but we are now to abstract our minds from all such associations of ideas, and to consider Anti-Jacobinism merely as a *trade*; a trade in the plain and common acceptation of the word; a mere money-making concern; a calling upon which men enter with no other views than those of Lloyd's and the 'Change, and to which apprentices may be bound in the regular course of law, there being gradations in it from the master tradesman downward, through the foreman and journeyman, to the sweeper and sprinkler of the pavement before the shop."

It is not necessary to pursue Cobbett's account of the political business of "Messrs. Canning & Co." Some of his blows must have fetched away both flesh and skin.

To satirize the French as the "Anti-Jacobin" did, was to attack a nation with its chosen weapons. As Kinglake said, no people ever knew better than Frenchmen how to heap sarcasm and scorn upon rulers that are despised or hated. Napoleon, as reported by Las Cases, returned to this theme again and again. Political caricatures, he said, tormented those in power endlessly. "Et combien n'en a-t-on pas fait sur moi?" What he did to chain the press of a satirical tendency need not be recited here, but he could not put fetters on wit. There remained those "salons" which the Emperor confessed to have been so "terribles" to him, for the reason that they were the home of the spirited sally, the biting epigram. "Avec eux," he said, "on est toujours battu en brèche, et il est bien rare qu'on n'y succombe pas." No one was better aware than Napoleon how capacious is the arsenal upon which the satirist may draw, and how subtly vexing his assault may be made. He once referred

to Montesquieu's "Lettres Persanes," affirming that they not only were full of sparkle and nice observation, but constituted a "satire sanglante du temps." Such indirect satirical resources have never failed the French. Their journalists and pamphleteers, even in times of the most repressive tyranny, have had the art, as De Musset reminds us in his "La Loi sur la Presse," to make Solon and Aristophanes turn teachers of Paris. Hence it was a sure instinct which led Napoleon III. to suppress "Charivari" immediately after his bloody seizure of supreme power in 1851. Its galling ridicule of the First Consul had evidently rankled in his proud soul. But it was in vain that he hoped to escape such mocking opposition. The Faubourg St. Germain took it up at dinner and reception; the boulevardier soon began cracking his disrespectful jokes again, and the press ere long found how to make inuendo and allegory and "double entendre" do the work of open antagonism.

Germany has furnished a later example of the folly of the attempt to muzzle a "geistreich" people. With his mediæval ideas of the divine right of kings to govern wrong, the Emperor William signalized his accession to the German throne by taking a high and mighty tone about the sanctity of his exalted person, set out to extinguish every form of criticism of his acts or deeds, and put the courts at work imprisoning right and left for "Majestätsbeleidigung." The first result was to create something like terror, but amusement followed, and soon the youthful monarch was the victim of more private satire than any of his predecessors had suffered. Presently the jests of the table and the cabaret began to creep cautiously into print. In the course of time appeared an elaborate satire on the Kaiser which was so clever and so obvious, though so carefully veiled, that it set all Germany on the broad grin. It took the form of a solemn historical study. Its author was the learned Dr. L. Quidde, and it was in a Leipzig monthly journal, "Die Gesellschaft," that he published his paper, "Caligula: eine Studie über romischen Cäzarenwahnsinn." A brief analysis will show how the shaft went home. Caligula, the grave historian pointed out, was very young and inexperienced when he unexpectedly succeeded to the imperial power. One of his first acts was to get rid of Macro, the chief councilor of his predecessor, in order the more freely to assert his own independence, and to give loose rein to his fancies in regard to economic and social reforms, as to which he was really in profound ignorance. The Roman monarch had also, Dr. Quidde remarked, a perfect mania for making speeches on every possible occasion; he was fond of sports, particularly of yachting; was filled with military ambition, and had the habit of summoning the troops to arms unexpectedly. Furthermore, Caligula was characterized



by a passionate zeal in punishing "lèse-majesté," by intolerance of opposition, by an extreme personal restlessness, and by a trick of autocratic utterance, in phrases like *oderint dum metuant*. The whole made up a kind of megalomania of which Dr. Quidde painstakingly traced the gradual development and fatal consequences.

While his skilful satire, promptly published in pamphlet form and sold by the thousand, was making the rest of Germany reverberate with laughter, court circles were stirred by it to fury. It was severely denounced by the Berlin "Kreuzzeitung," which said that the implicit parallelism between Roman and German Cæsarism was a grave offence. To this attack, Dr. Quidde calmly replied that his brochure was purely an historical study. He had made no statement except upon the authority of the best writers, had been guilty of no distortion or misrepresentation, and had lugged in absolutely nothing foreign to his subject. It was true, added the sly doctor, that he had not written in a style of "antiquarian pedantry," and had cultivated the manner rather of "the publicist than the professor," but he surely was not responsible for the inferences which others might draw from his innocent plunge into history. Later on the Bavarian Academy of Sciences, in a spirit of adulation not unknown in learned bodies, took up Dr. Quidde's pamphlet, and formally expressed the view that it was not truly "scientific." Strictly speaking, this could only mean that Caligula's character had not been sketched with precision, though what the loyal Academicians doubtless intended by their censure was to rebuke the implied *de te fabula*. In this, however, they showed themselves more sensitive than the Emperor himself, who was reported to have read the offending pamphlet with smiling good humor—"mit gutem Behagen." Similarly we have seen "Mr. Dooley," author of that mercilessly satirical review of the history of the Rough Riders, invited to dine at the White House. When satire makes so palpable a hit, its very victims, unless they are past praying for, are compelled to applaud the skilful management of the weapon.

Mention of Mr. Dunne recalls the extraordinary way in which his humorous writings have revived the art of political satire. Beginning as a "feature" of a Chicago newspaper, the Dooley papers soon became a part of our public life. They gained prompt recognition in England, too, thus showing that they were no mere local or even national squibs, but that a genuine political philosophy underlay them, and that they embodied a real criticism of life. Perhaps the happiest part of Mr. Dunne's inspiration was the form which he hit upon to convey his truth, *quanquam ridentem*. His choice of a garrulous old Irish-American as the medium of his satirical comments on current politics was most adroit.

In what other way could he so surely have put his finger on the raw of Puritan and Cavalier? As they read Mr. Dooley's gloss upon their lapses from their own principles, they could but feel themselves disarmed even as they were lunged at. And then Mr. Dunne's great success in keeping out everything like personal bitterness, his deep and unfailing well of pure laughter, the wholesome democratic optimism which betrays itself in his very audacities of ridicule of dignitaries, make his satirical work of a class by itself, so broad in its reach, and so irresistible in its appeals, when at its best, that judges of the Supreme Court of the United States as they read their decisions caricatured by "Dooley, J." are as convulsed as the chance newspaper reader. It is Hosea Biglow come to life again, and writing prose instead of poetry, while speaking Irish brogue in place of Yankee slang.

"Sir, it is intended to be low; it is satire," said Dr. Johnson, when Boswell objected to Pope's phrase, "ne'er looks forward farther than his nose." "The expression," went on the Doctor, "is debased to debase the character." Yet on another occasion he contended that the coarse and savage personal diatribes then current in the House of Commons were less objectionable than would be politer methods. "Abuse is not so dangerous when there is no vehicle of wit or delicacy, no subtle conveyance. The difference between coarse and refined abuse is as the difference between being bruised by a club and wounded by a poisoned arrow." Boswell was, as ever, ready with his capping citation from the poet Young:—

"As the soft plume gives swiftness to the dart,  
Good breeding sends the satire to the heart."

Satire in good literary form, such as has been, for the most part, referred to in the foregoing, is not, however, the only kind, and perhaps not always the most effective. It is not your correctly made book, said Voltaire, but your tiny brochure that does the business with the people. So it has often happened that a biting phrase from speech or newspaper article, an extreme characterization of a man in the public eye, a taunt, a violent misrepresentation even, have struck home where more elaborate and studied attack has failed. We have seen even that undaunted politician, Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, shrinking from the cry of "the dear loaf," raised so shrill and persistent against his fiscal proposals. It is highly noteworthy, by the way, that in this great contemporary political controversy in England, nearly all the wits and satirists have been arrayed against the Government and the Colonial Secretary. "Punch" has put a fresh point upon its graver to caricature Mr. Chamberlain, and the



inimitable Mr. Gould, in the "Westminster Gazette," has devoted to him side-splitting cartoon after cartoon, saturated with that sarcasm which wounds but does not rankle. This rallying of the English satirists against the Government falls in well with what was said earlier about the tendency of political satire to enlist in the ranks of the Opposition.

It should not be necessary to put in a warning against supposing that satirical treatment of a government, or a political opponent, or of a large question before the country, can alone so influence the popular mind as to snatch a verdict from it. The satirists are, after all, only the skirmishers of the political army. They beat up the enemy. They discover his weak positions. They challenge him to issue forth to battle. But when the fight is really on, it must be decided by the impact of the infantry and artillery of serious argument. It is one thing to raise a laugh, but another to carry conviction. And if a cause is good, and in the hands of able men, ready to meet all comers in debate, satirical attacks upon it do but afford its champions the better opportunity. "Glittering generalities," sneered Choate, referring to the Declaration of Independence. "Yes," was Emerson's noble and effective reply, "they *do* glitter,—those truths of the Declaration. They have a *right* to glitter." It was a fine example of the dignified retort on flippancy. The Rev. Homer Wilbur of Jaalam gives us a wholesome reminder on this subject. "Truth is quite beyond the reach of satire," he wrote. "There is so brave a simplicity in her that she can no more be made ridiculous than an oak or a pine."

Too strong a satirical bent is as fatal to a public man in a democracy as is a reputation for levity. The late Speaker Reed is the best example of this that easily comes to mind. He had great political ambitions, as he had great powers. But unfortunately for him, one of his native gifts was a talent for satire. Too often for his own political good, it ran away with him. The temptation to answer a fool according to his folly was too strong for him. His tongue could not refrain from fitting weakness or demagoguery in the men of the day with their appropriate characterization in biting epigram. He lashed and girded right and left. It was fun for his friends and the newspapers,—fun for *him*, undoubtedly, in his big-boy enjoyment of his own vocabulary,—but he left resentful enemies along his track where he might as well have had admiring supporters. Moreover, Mr. Reed's continual tendency to see everything in the distorted light of satire, with the touch of personal bitterness which showed itself after the frustration of his political hopes, really disabled him, in a measure, from rising to the height of great public service in a crisis. He made no secret of the fact that he was opposed to the war

with Spain, and especially to the insular annexations which followed it. Yet the most that he could do was to lavish his wit upon those who were directly responsible. He gibed at President McKinley as "the Emperor of Expediency," and concocted many an epigram at the expense of the expansionists,—like his saying that he already had more country than he could really love. But he had not the port of a man prepared to front a great emergency, and to go to his countrymen with words of weighty remonstrance and passionate appeal. The satirist had killed the statesman. He could set off squibs, but had no stomach for the thunder of the captains and the shouting. Even if he had essayed to get a hearing for sober speech, people would have been looking for witticisms rather than wisdom, and he would have found himself gravely hampered by the reputation he had built up as a man of smart sayings but not of large utterance.

The peril which the ex-Speaker did not escape is one that evidently besets the satirical writer as well. Satire is good medicine, but bad daily food. As one of our greatest political satirists,—Lowell,—has himself asserted, in the guise of editor of the "Biglow Papers," "The danger of the satirist is that continual use may deaden his sensibility to the force of language. He becomes more and more liable to strike harder than he knows or intends. He may be careful to put on his boxing gloves, and yet forget that the older they grow, the more plainly may the knuckles inside be felt. \* \* \* I have sometimes thought that my young friend, Mr. Biglow, needed a monitory hand laid on his arm,—*aliquid sufflaminandus erat*. I have never thought it good husbandry to water the tender plants of reform with *aqua fortis*, yet, where so much is to do in the beds, he were a sorry gardener who should wage a whole day's war with an iron scuffle on those ill weeds that make the garden walks of life unsightly, when a sprinkle of Attic salt will wither them up. *Est ars etiam maledicendi*, says Scaliger." Where Hosea Biglow perceived a pitfall for the feet of the satirist and drew back, lesser mortals may well hesitate to press forward. Satire used in excess and applied to all persons and subjects becomes as monotonous as the most prosy preaching.

Nor can that political satirist hope for true success who is not able to rid himself of the suspicion of being moved by personal enmity. He must make it clear that his satire is directed against a bad principle, and not inspired by rancor against any man as such. This was the rule which Aristophanes laid down for himself. He averred, in the "Wasps," that he had never attacked mere men, but that, when he saw harm threatened to the state by the action of even the greatest, he had assailed



them "with the spirit of a Hercules." This sense of public duty, with a scorn, like that of Aristophanes himself, of a bribe in any form, can alone win respect for political satire, or make it truly and lastingly an effective instrument. Yet, of course, bad principles in the vague mean nothing. We know them only as embodied in a bad man. Hence there must be personal directness in dealing with the actual exponent of the mischief-foreboding principle. You cannot make *it* ridiculous, without trying to make ridiculous also the man in whom, for the time being, it is writ large before the public gaze. Old Thomas Fuller, importuned by a swearing mendicant, said he would gladly have starved the fellow's profanity if he could at the same time have fed his hunger. But no such dichotomy is possible for either charity or satire. Abstractions cannot be satirized. Only as impersonated can the laugh be turned on them. "It is one of the cunningest fetches of Satan that he never exposes himself directly to our arrows, but, still dodging behind this neighbor or that acquaintance, compels us to wound him through them, if at all." But there is a difference between being personal and being hostile. Satire, as a political weapon, may be flashed with its keen edge in such a way, not, indeed, as to avoid personal hurts, but so as to cause no wound which will not heal by first intention, while the satirist may make it evident to all beholders that he cherishes no personal animosity, and would be the first to do a kindness to his victim if only he would abandon his public vices.

# THE PARIS COMMUNE OF 1871

LOUIS LUCIPIA

PARIS

## I.

MARCH seventeenth, 1871, was so calm a day in Paris that no one could have imagined that the next morning an insurrection was to break forth and by evening make itself master of the entire city. National feeling, it is true, had run high when it was known that the Prussians had committed on the first of March the last outrage of occupying Paris, but on their departure quiet had been restored in the streets. There was no excitement even when on March eleventh General Vinoy at one stroke suppressed on the ground of a state of siege six papers of the extreme republican wing. These were "Le Cri du Peuple" of Jules Vallès, "Le Vengeur" of Félix Pyat, "Le Mot d'Ordre" of Henri Rochefort, "La Bouche de fer" of Paschal Grousset, "Le Père Duchêne" of Vermersch, Alphonse Humbert, and Maxime Vuillaume, and "La Caricature" of Pilotell. It is true that the National Guard had possessed themselves of the cannon of Montmartre, that these might not be surrendered to the Prussians after the occupation. In fact, according to the convention concluded between Jules Favre and Bismarck, the National Guard could not be disarmed. But, since these cannon were no longer in danger, they were no longer guarded with jealous care by a large body of troops. "Le Moniteur universel," a paper that had no sympathy with revolt, said on March seventeenth, "Paris has become entirely quiet. There is nothing like an hour of silent meditation to restore order to the soul. The sentinels of the park of artillery at Montmartre, *four only in number*, will not be maintained indefinitely. Even this morning one hardly noticed them. At Belleville no other attitude is taken than that of a gate where one goes where he will as soon as permission has been given in due form." This statement made by a paper essentially conservative, a statement confirmed by the parliamentary investigation ordered by the Assembly of Versailles, shows that public order was no longer endangered by those unguarded cannon. The battalions of the National Guard thinned their own ranks, inasmuch as the workshops reopened their doors and the workmen preferred to earn their daily wage rather than receive their pay of thirty sous.

There was, to be sure, the Comité Central, but how was this Comité

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Central organized, and what had been its influence hitherto on the population of Paris?

The Comité Central of the federation of the National Guard was composed of delegates chosen by the battalions. Since its formation and during the siege its composition had been modified several times by successive elections. It acted in broad daylight,—a method of procedure not common with conspirators. Its authority was more than precarious. It was even unrecognized by a large number of the battalions of the National Guard. It had no real existence until March nineteenth, after the departure of M. Thiers, and the chief reproach which M. Thiers brought against it was that it was composed of unknown men. “Who are the members of that committee?” says he in a manifesto. “No one in Paris knows them; their names are unfamiliar to everybody. No one is able to say even to what party they belong.” What authority could it have under such circumstances, and how could a revolt be fomented in a city of more than two million inhabitants? In fact, only a dozen of its members were chosen members of the Commune either at the general or the supplementary elections. If the Comité Central had had the revolutionary power which has been ascribed to it after the event, is it possible that it would not have asserted this power on the morrow of the victory of the people? Yet in neither of the two manifestoes of March fourteenth, is there sign of its doing so. The one says, “What has the Comité Central done? It has founded the federation; it has preached moderation, yes, magnanimity. At the moment that the assault with arms began it said to all, ‘Do not take the offensive, use the bayonet only in the last extremity.’ Our advice has often roused the impatience of the people.” In the other manifesto (which we shall meet later) it defends itself against the charge of provocation. There is no effect without a cause. If we do not find the cause of the revolt in the action of the people nor in the manœuvres of the Comité Central, where are we to look for it? There is more than one side to the government of M. Thiers. Here we shall find it. Did the uprising spring from chance or from a thwarted plan? The narrative of the events of March eighteenth, will enable us to arrive at a decision.

Here are the facts in a few words. During the night between the seventeenth and the eighteenth of March, 1871, the noises incident to the life of a great city ceased at the usual hour. The weather was misty. It was not until nearly three o’clock in the morning that the lights in the barracks became visible. Soon after the troops started out equipped for the field. At four, General Lecomte arrived at Montmartre with several companies of the eighty-eighth regiment of infantry, a company

of the Gardiens-de-la-peace under arms, and a company of chasseurs. One of his colleagues advanced towards the Butte Chaumont and another toward Belleville. Lecomte had orders to bring away the cannon on the Butte Montmartre. M. Martial Delpit, in his report to the National Assembly (the parliamentary inquiry concerning the revolt of March eighteenth) says that the plan of attack had been arranged the preceding evening in the council of ministers. He expresses his astonishment that the cannon taken without serious resistance at four o'clock in the morning were still in position at nine, and he adds, "Were the orders ill given or ill executed? Both perhaps." It seems, in fact, extraordinary that a general sent to get the cannon did not use teams. The operation could have been carried out in less than an hour without arousing the attention of the public. On the contrary the movements of the soldiers, the sound of the butt of their muskets striking the pavement, drew the curious to the windows. Then the National Guard began to file down the street with their guns. A crowd had gathered by six when General Lecomte decided to have the cannon dragged by his men in the direction of the outer boulevards which separate the ninth arrondissement from the eighteenth. At nine o'clock, the cannon had not been removed, but everywhere on the side of the Butte which lies toward Paris women and children crying "Vive la ligue," had forced their way amid the ranks of soldiers, who thus found themselves hindered from using their weapons. At this moment General Lecomte tried to interfere. It was too late. The eighty-eighth regiment of infantry had already the butt of their muskets in the air. Meantime a bloody collision was taking place on the Place Pigalle between the National Guard and the mounted chasseurs which had been brought up by General Susbiele to reinforce General Lecomte. In the accounts of events given by the adversaries of the revolt it is stated that the order to use weapons was given by a captain of mounted chasseurs who was killed by a shot. Action on the part of the soldiers was ended in that part of Paris. The troops dispersed. General Lecomte and General Clément Thomas (who had been in command of the National Guard of Paris succeeding General Carnisier after the changes of October 31, 1870) were made prisoners and taken to Château Rouge and thence to the Rue des Rosiers, where they were shot by platoons in which were found soldiers of the eighty-eighth infantry regiment, the one which in the morning had recovered their muskets.

By whose order did this summary execution take place? There was no trial; not even the word to fire was given. It was the explosion of a transport of rage on the part of the assembled mob. It was not by



order of the Comité Central, which did not meet until after ten o'clock in the Rue Basfroi in the second arrondissement, and did not even learn of the incident until evening. A member of the Comité Central, Bourcier, has written : "You know how Paris awoke on the morning of the eighteenth. The members of the committee learned the events of the night by public rumor and by the official bulletins. I awoke about eight o'clock, hastened to dress myself and betook myself to Rue Basfroi, crossing the Place de la Bastille which was occupied by the Guard of Paris. I saw that the people were beginning to organize for defence. A barricade was being built hastily at the corner of Rue Neuve de Lappe. \* \* \* I reached Rue Basfroi toward half past ten. At noon we were still awaiting events." Events? Paris was being covered with barricades converging toward the centre. At three in the afternoon, as the result of a council of the ministers, M. Thiers left Paris and went to Versailles, after having ordered the forts to be evacuated. At that hour the Préfecture of Police was not yet occupied by the insurgents (it was seized at ten o'clock by Duval), nor was the Hôtel de Ville, which Jules Ferré refused to surrender until, late in the evening (it was almost ten o'clock), he learned that he was abandoned by his colleagues in the government.

It is thus established by the avowals of the "Versaillais" and of the "Communards," as well as by the facts,—a still more valuable historical proof,—that the revolt was not planned by those who became the insurgents, and that it would not have occurred if M. Thiers had not attempted on March eighteenth an act of violence.

## II.

Such was the beginning of the most formidable insurrection that has ever taken place in Paris since its foundation, an insurrection which lasted seventy-two days, inasmuch as it was not ended until after the removal of the last barricade at Belleville on May twenty-eighth. On September 4, 1870, the popular movement was a revolution since it succeeded in expelling the imperial government. The popular movement of March eighteenth was only an insurrection because it failed. Revolution when there is victory, insurrection when there is defeat!

In the night between the nineteenth and the twentieth of March, the Comité Central established itself in the Hôtel de Ville and awaited the election by popular suffrage of a communal council which was to take at once the direction of political, military, and administrative affairs. The first act of the Comité Central was a proclamation addressed "To the People." It ran as follows: "Citizens, the people of Paris have shaken off the yoke that was being forced upon them. Calm, impass-

able in their strength, they face without fear as without aggression the shameless fools who would seek to do violence to the Republic. This time our brothers of the army have refused to lay hand on the sacred ark of our liberties. Thanks to all! Thanks that Paris and France are together laying the foundation of a republic to be welcomed with all its consequences, the only government which will end forever the era of invasions and of civil war. The city is no longer in a state of siege. The people of Paris have been sent to their homes to take part in the communal elections. The safety of all the citizens is assured by the accession of the National Guard." M. Thiers knew that the National Guard would refuse to act against its comrades, but he had not foreseen that the regulars would also refuse their aid to a "coup de main." The Comité Central, moreover, knew nothing of this, as is plain from the above manifesto.

The Comité at once took measures to prevent a hostile reaction on the part of the regulars. In view of the communal elections it opened negotiations with the mayors and deputy mayors of the arrondissements elected in November, 1870, to whom the minister of the interior, M. Ernest Picard, in a decree dated March nineteenth, had just delegated the administration of the city of Paris and to whom he had assigned (with the provision that the grant be confirmed by law) fifty thousand francs for immediate expenditure. The elections, which had been set for Thursday, March twenty-third, now adjourned to Sunday, March twenty-sixth, after posting the two proclamations, which differed from one another only in one word, but a word of great significance. One said, "The Comité Central of the National Guard, to which are *added* the deputies, the mayors, and their assistants \* \* \*" This came from the Comité Central. The other ran as follows and showed its origin in its very first line, "The deputies of Paris, the mayors, and their assistants, assembled in the headquarters of their arrondissements, *and* the members of the federated Comité Central of the National Guard. \* \* \*" The elections took place "au scrutin de liste" by wards, one deputy being chosen to every twenty thousand inhabitants, ninety in all, and by virtue of the law of 1849 a plurality was sufficient to elect if it included one eighth of the enrolled voters. The electoral lists for the month of February were used. More than two hundred and twenty thousand citizens took part in the elections. There had been a show of arms several times before the election, and on the occasion of March twenty-third, on the Place Vendôme, called "de la Paix," blood was shed. Until the results of the ballot were declared the Comité Central issued very few decrees and all were termed provisional. The mayors and deputy mayors continued



their functions as officials of the state, but all the ministerial offices were filled by delegates of the Comité Central, as was the Préfecture of Police. The latter was assigned to a military man, General Duval (who on April sixth following, was condemned to be shot on the plain of Châtillon by the order of General Vinoy), and then to a civilian, Raoul Rigault, who became Procureur of the Commune and was shot during the Week of May in Rue Gay Lussac, not far from the Panthéon.

The proclamation of the Commune put an end to the first period in the administration of the city of Paris between March eighteenth and May twenty-eighth, 1871. The second extends from the proclamation of the Commune to the entry of the troops of Versailles into Paris on May twenty-first. This is the reign of the Commune properly so-called. The third period extends from May twenty-first to May twenty-eighth. This is called the Week of May or the Bloody Week. The administration changed in proportion as the army made itself master of the arrondissements, and the change was usually from the civil to the military.

### III.

The Commune was proclaimed Monday, March twenty-seventh, on the square before the Hôtel de Ville. Its first act was to declare that "the National Guard and the Comité Central have deserved well of their country and the Republic." Ch. Beslay presided at the sitting by virtue of seniority, assisted by two younger delegates, Th. Ferré and Raoul Rigault. A notice with the date of March twenty-ninth, which appeared at the head of the "Journal Officiel" ran as follows, "The Comité Central has resigned its powers to the Commune," showing that the Comité was in touch with the new delegates. In fact, a delegation of the Comité had been admitted to the sitting and had formally laid down the powers of the Comité in the presence of the Commune. But it seems that the delegates did not lay down their authority without a certain reservation. They seemed to wish to retain a part of their military authority. Accordingly on their departure the Commune at once passed a decree cast in the following terms:—

REPUBLIQUE FRANÇAISE  
LIBERTÉ—ÉGALITÉ—FRATERNITÉ  
COMMUNE DE PARIS.

The Commune of Paris, having the sole power, decrees:—

ARTICLE I. The employees of the various departments of government will hereafter treat as null and void orders or communications emanating from the government of Versailles or its adherents.

ARTICLE II. All officials or employees who do not conform to this decree will be promptly dismissed.

Hôtel de Ville, 29 March, 1871

For the Commune: the President

The recorders:

"Lefrançais."

Ranc, Ed. Vaillant.

The government of Versailles alone was mentioned, but the unique preamble of the decree has really in mind the Comité Central. This view is corroborated by our personal recollections, for we were present at that sitting. In fact, during the whole of the insurrection one could see friction between the Commune and the Comité Central, showing differences not political but administrative, with the more precise aim of controlling military operations. (Later the decrees used the dates of the republican era [year LXXIX] and were signed "The Commune of Paris" to indicate that there was only a chairman, changed at each sitting.)

The Commune was divided into ten permanent committees, executive, financial, military, judiciary, that of public safety, that on ways and means, on labor, industries, and exchange, on foreign affairs, civil service, and instruction; it was decided that the members of the Commune should have the direction of their respective arrondissements and alone be authorized to perform the functions of civil officers for the registration of births, marriages, and deaths. The sale of articles deposited with the "Mont-de-Piété" was suspended. Later a gratuitous redemption was arranged. Military conscription was abolished and all able-bodied citizens incorporated in the National Guard. Rents for the quarters ending October, 1870, and January and April, 1871, were remitted. The tricolor was replaced everywhere by the red flag. The members of the Commune wore as insignia a red scarf with gold tassels and a rosette, also red, in their buttonholes. They received a salary of five hundred francs per month. They could take their meals at the Hôtel de Ville, but in that case a deduction was made from their salary. The Commune decreed the separation of Church and State, the suppression of the budget of public worship, and the return to the nation of estates in mortmain. Of police regulations, it was said, "The National Guard is charged with their execution." There were resolutions prohibiting the sale of tobacco on the public streets, prostitution, open drunkenness, and gaming. In spite of the formula relative to the execution of police regulations, there were police commissioners in each ward; in the end even head commissioners for arrondissements were created. Suits to enforce payment of



notes were at first suspended; later the time of payment was prolonged to three years. The Commune decided that notaries and sheriffs should be public functionaries on fixed salaries and appointed a certain number of these officials. It appointed, also, justices of the peace while indicating that soon all the magistrates would be elective. The hospitals and asylums were laicized theoretically, but the decree was not carried out in all cases. In the arrondissements lay bodies were organized for the distribution of charity. The schools were also put in lay hands, but for want of teachers a sufficient number could not be opened. The first professional public school that had ever existed in Paris was established. The railroad companies were notified to turn over to the treasury of the Commune the sums which they owed the state. The Compagnie de l'Ouest alone failed to do this. A railway commission was organized by the Commune.

Charles Beslay, the doyen of the Commune, was appointed commissioner of the Bank of France. Several times that institution had to contribute to the Finance Commission, at the head of which were Jourde and Varlin, but the bank suffered no pillage and its notes circulated during the whole period of the insurrection. The "Journal Officiel" of March twenty-ninth shows that the three per cents were quoted in the Bourse at 45.50 francs cash, a fall of 5.20 on the former quotations. In the quotations of March thirtieth they rose to 45.65 francs, in those of March thirty-first they were 45.55 francs. Then they oscillated until April eleventh between 45.30 francs and 51.45 francs. After that date they are not quoted in the "Journal." Further, the Commune decreed that retention of salary in the form of fines would be allowed in neither public nor private transactions. It decreed that night work should be suppressed even with the bakers, but the measure was introduced at the instance of the workingmen themselves.

Such was, in large lines, the administration of the Commune. One sees that it adopted reform in the socialist republican direction,—reforms political and economic, but it does not appear that there were any simple attempts at communism, in spite of the assertion put forth by the government of Versailles in a proclamation of March 19, 1871, "It (the government) has been, and still is, bent on putting an end to the insurrectionary committee whose members are almost all unknown to the people and which represents only communistic doctrines." The insurrection which had been provoked was not communistic; it was before all things communal. The leaders of that revolt are even today called in ordinary speech "communists" or more commonly "communards." If they have some notoriety they are also designated by the titl

"members of the Commune," even when they were never elected to the communal council. This is an abuse of language which has grave inconveniencies because of the confusion it may produce when that period of the history of Paris is studied historically.

On May first, the Commune organized a Committee of Public Safety composed as follows: Antoine Arnaud, Léo Melliet, Renvier, Félix Pyat, and Charles Gérardin. This decision was not reached without great friction in the communal assembly. There was a violent schism. The members of the minority refused for a moment to return to the Hôtel de Ville. They did not persist in this resolution, but the rupture was felt to exist none the less. Two distinct parties were evident, one which, without denying the importance of economic reforms, thought that the Commune ought to occupy itself, above all, with the question of defence, in order to assure the practical success of the revolt. The other, which was in the minority, thought that it ought to make paramount and put in practice the socialist doctrines which had been gaining ground in France since the revolution of 1848. In this minority were found socialists of various schools, communists, and "mutualists." The first was superseded by a second Committee of Public Safety, composed of Antoine Arnaud, Eudes, Billioray, Gambon, and Renvier. On May eighteenth, this new committee suppressed ten daily papers, forbade the publication of any new papers until the end of the war, and ordered all articles to be signed. Sixteen of the delegates of March twenty-sixth, never sat at the Hôtel de Ville, four resigned in the first days of April, two chosen in the supplementary elections of April sixteenth, refused to serve.

#### IV.

After this very succinct review of the administrative acts of the Commune of Paris, a few words must be said concerning the military operations down to the entry of the troops of Versailles on May 21, 1871.

Before April third, there were no military operations properly so-called. The army of Versailles was being formed. It was composed of troops drawn from the provinces, of prisoners returned from Germany which were at once enrolled, and of volunteers. It occupied the fort of Mont Valérien which had been temporarily abandoned but which the Comité Central, misled by Charles Lullier, had not seized. The forces of the Commune were quartered in the forts of Issy, Vanves, Montrouge, Bicêtre, and Tury, and also in the redoubt of Moulin-Saquet. On April third, two encounters took place simultaneously, one at Courbevoie where



Gustave Flourens was killed, and another at Châtillon where Émile Duval was taken and shot. The defeat of the Commune was entire in both places. From that time the troops of the Commune stood on the defensive, but every day there were hot skirmishes at the outposts. After the death of Duval and Flourens, Cluseret, who had held a command in the army of the United States during the War of Secession, was put in charge. He had for chief of staff Colonel Rossel, who took Cluseret's place April thirtieth, after the latter had been put under arrest by order of the Commune. Cluseret had divided his forces into two corps under the command respectively of two former officers of the Russian army, Dombrowsky and Wroblewsky. On April twenty-ninth, there was an armistice of twenty-four hours to allow the inhabitants of Neuilly to escape to some place of shelter from the shells. There was one other suspension of hostilities, and the last, in consequence of an attempt of the Freemasons to put a stop to the civil war. On May ninth, the fort of Issy was evacuated after a struggle which lasted two days. The Commune ordered the arrest of Rossel who, after having begged by letter for a cell in the prison of Mazas, hid himself and did not appear again publicly until the end of the revolt. Arrested by the agents of General Valentin, préfet of police, he was shot at Satory together with Ferré, formerly at the head of the Préfecture of Police, and an infantry sergeant of the line, Bourgeois. Rossel was succeeded by Delescluze who was appointed *civil* commissioner for war. During the struggle in Paris Delescluze, weary of life, let himself be killed on a barricade. The Commune, unable to take the defensive, allowed the troops of Versailles to advance gradually as far as the fortifications. On May twenty-first, being told that the St. Cloud gate was no longer guarded, they entered Paris at four in the afternoon. After April fifteenth, except for the two suspensions of hostilities which have been mentioned, the bombardment did not cease day nor night.

## V.

On Sunday, May twenty-first, the Commune was in session at the Hôtel de Ville, with Jules Vallès in the chair, engaged in the trial of General Cluseret, when Billioray asked for a recess in order to announce that the troops of Versailles had just passed the city lines. The news spread very rapidly and reached the Tuileries where a charity fête was being arranged. Some were incredulous, but it was soon known that Amoureux, a member of the Commune, had been made prisoner at Passy. The Commune was still sitting at the Hôtel de Ville the next day, but it was the last.

The communal administration vanished in turn. In the arrondissements occupied by the forces of Marshal MacMahon, the military authority was supreme, and in the arrondissements where there was still resistance it was the commanders of the troops of the Commune who issued orders. All was violence and suppression. On the twenty-second, the forces of Versailles advanced from the Place Courcelles by way of the St. Lazare Station, the Boulevard Malesherbes, the Rond Point of the Champs Elysées, the Chamber of Deputies, and Montparnasse Station, which had been seized by the colonel of the one hundred and fourteenth regiment of the line, who later was known as General Boulanger. On the twenty-third, the Butte Montmartre was taken, and the soldiers of the Commune made prisoners and taken to Parc Mouceau where they were shot. These were the first executions. On the same day Dombrowsky was killed, M. Chaudey, who was held as hostage at St. Pélagie, was shot by order of the Procureur of the Commune, and General Bergeret fired the Tuileries. On the twenty-fourth, the Louvre, the Palais Royal, the Bank, the Hospital Lariboisière, the Porte St. Denis, all were in the hands of Generals Douai, Ladmirault, and Clinchant. General de Cissey siezed the Luxembourg and the Panthéon. The infantry of the line massacred in their beds the wounded in the hospital of the Seminary of St. Sulpice, and shot the surgeon-in-chief, Dr. Fanan. Raoul Rigault was shot in the Rue Gay Lussac. MM. Bonjean, Deguerry, Clerc, Ducoudray, and Allard, with the archbishop of Paris, hostages of the Commune, were executed on the roadway before the prison of La Roquette. The Hôtel de Ville became a prey of the flames.

On the twenty-fifth, after the capture of the Butte aux Cailles, the Gobelins, the Pont d'Austerlitz, all the left bank of the Seine was occupied. On the right bank there was fighting at the Château d'Eau; the headquarters of the Commune were in the "mairie" of the eleventh arrondissement. Those of the Dominicans of Arcueil who had not been set at liberty at Fort Bicêtre before the evacuation, were shot on the Avenue d'Italie. On the twenty-sixth, General Clinchant was at the Cirque d'Hiver, General Ladmirault at the docks of La Villette which were on fire. General Vinoy occupied the Place du Trône and the Place de la Bastille. General de Cissey had Millièrè, who was a member of the National Assembly but who had, nevertheless, not taken part in the revolt, shot without a trial. In Rue Haxo fifty-two persons, gendarmes, ecclesiastics, retired officials, who were hostages of the Commune, were shot by the mob after being taken from the prison of La Roquette. On the twenty-seventh, the Butte Chaumont and the ceme-



tery of Père Lachaise were taken. On the twenty-eighth, the last barricade fell and Marshal MacMahon posted the following proclamation: "Inhabitants of Paris, the army of France has saved you. Paris is delivered. At four o'clock our soldiers seized the last positions occupied by the insurgents. Today the struggle is over; order, labor, and security are reborn." The insurrection was ended; the Commune was vanquished.

According to the statistics collected by the deputy Camille Pelletan, statistics which have not been disputed, thirty-five thousand Parisians, men, women, and children, were shot during the third period of the revolt and during the eight days which followed the capture of the last barricade. Denunciations were numerous. At the Préfecture of Paris several hundred thousand were received. All who were afraid became informers. Treachery is one form of cowardice. The slightest sign sufficed for an arrest and an order of execution. Many were shot under the pretext that they resembled such and such members of the Commune. Thus several Vallès and Billiorays were shot. As soon as an arrondissement was taken, a sort of military provost was installed before whom the procedure was still more summary than before a court martial, such as the law for a state of siege provides. Such courts were held at the École Militaire, at the Parc Mouceau, at the Dupleix Barracks, at the Collège de France, at the Luxembourg, at the Gobelins, at Châtelet, at the Loban Barracks, at Mazas, at La Roquette, and in the forts. About forty thousand arrests were made. The prisoners were sent to the hulks at Brest, Rochefort, Lorient, Cherbourg, and to a number of places which had been assigned for use as prisons, Versailles, Mont Valérien, St. Germain-en-Laye, and the forts near Paris. Those who were kept under arrest were brought before courts martial which imposed all the penalties of the codes, including that of death, although the advocates of the accused pointed out to the judges that since 1848 the death penalty had been abolished for political offences. Those sentenced to hard labor,—a penalty of common law,—were sent to the prison of Toulon, then to Ile Nou in New Caledonia, those from a quarter lying in the fortifications to the peninsula of Ducos, the others to Ile des Pins; those who were sentenced to simple confinement were distributed among the various prisons of France. Thirty of those condemned to death were executed on the plain of Satory, near Versailles or Vincennes. Repressive measures did not cease until 1879. At that date sentences were still being passed on the insurgents of March, 1871. It was not till after the election of M. Jules Grévy to the presidency of the republic that parliament voted the first partial amnesty. Finally a general amnesty

was passed and promulgated July 14, 1880, the day on which the national festival instituted by the republic in commemoration of the capture of the Bastille was first celebrated. Those who had fled to escape sentence were now able to return to France. The greater number had taken refuge in England and in Switzerland, where extradition for political crimes and offences is not granted. The industries of Paris suffered for a long time from that exodus of skilled workmen. The repressive measures of the government had, in this respect, economic consequences the same as those of the revocation of the Edict of Nantes under Louis XIV.

## VI.

Two accusations, among others, have been made against the Commune of 1871: that of having shot hostages, and of having lacked in patriotism. The impartiality of history should determine the worth of these accusations which appear periodically, especially since the Commune is always held up to public execration in the Chamber of Deputies.

We have seen what happened in the case of the hostages,—they numbered less than eighty. It is true that, under such circumstances, the gravity of the act cannot be gauged by the number of those who fell. Still it is very difficult to keep from recalling that on one side, there were eighty victims, not one of them a woman or a child, while on the other, there were thirty-five thousand, among them women and children. It must not be forgotten that wounded men at the hospital, for the most part from the first siege of Paris, were butchered in their beds, and that the surgeon who tended them, Dr. Fanan, was shot on May twenty-fourth. Who would venture to say that the massacre of hostages in the Rue Haxo was not caused by the massacre of the wounded at St. Sulpice? Who would maintain that the one was not responsible for the other? The archbishop of Paris was shot at La Roquette. He would have been set at liberty if M. Thiers had not, in spite of urgent solicitations, refused to exchange him for Blanqui, the old revolutionary whom he held at Vanves in the Château du Faurean, and whom the Commune considered as a hostage held by the government of Versailles.

Let us look at the other accusation, that the Commune was lacking in patriotism.

Everything shows that if the revolt was able to develop so rapidly as to gain possession of the whole city, it was because of the patriotic fervor which had seized the inhabitants after the declaration of war, and, above all, after the Prussians had laid siege to Paris. To maintain the contrary one must ignore the fact that those who became the Communards joined the other republicans on September fourth in demanding



the overthrow of the empire which had been disgraced at Sedan. One should read "*La Patrie en Danger*," a paper of Blanqui that was issued on the morning after September fourth. What is the sole thought of the old revolutionary whom all the preceding régimes had kept in prison? The defence of the soil of the fatherland. Was not the outbreak of October 31, 1870, provoked by the news of the capitulation of Marshal Bazaine at Metz? It was patriotic grief that led the National Guard to attack the Hôtel de Ville. Why was the "red placard" of January 7, 1871, made a subject of reproach to the government? Because it did not order a general levy and a general sally to break the circle of iron which held Paris, and allow volunteers to join the armies with which Gambetta was opposing the invader. Why was there the outbreak of January 22, 1871? Because on January nineteenth, General Trochu had sounded the retreat at Montretout. It is well known that the cannon were removed to Montmartre and Belleville in order to hand them over to the Prussians. Furthermore, one should listen to what the fiercest enemies of the Commune said soon after its defeat. They recognized that love of country had risen to a paroxysm. "I have heard men whom I thought were sane and intelligent," says M. Jules Favre, who, as minister of foreign affairs, demanded of the Powers the extradition of the insurgents, "declare that the best thing to do was to take their wives and children and let them all be killed, saying, 'We prefer to burn our houses than to surrender them to the enemy.' " M. Martial Delpit, deputy of the Right, clerk of the committee of parliamentary inquiry on the events of March eighteenth, bears witness to the patriotism of the Parisian populace before the insurrection. Thus, too, General Le Flôqui says, "The military operations had left a most painful impression on the people of Paris, above all, on the National Guard, consisting of two hundred and fifty thousand men partially equipped and showing disposition to fight." Hear, too, M. Thiers himself; his testimony is official: "The entry of the Prussians into Paris," he says, "was one of the chief causes of the revolt. I do not say that without this circumstance the uprising would not have occurred, but I do say that the entry of the Prussians gave it an extraordinary impetus."

But then it is asked: If the Parisians were ardent patriots, how is it that they rose in insurrection in the presence of the enemy? We have seen that the Parisians were no insurgents,—that they only resented the provocation of the attempt to modify the form of government for the benefit of the Orleans family. Here again a comparison is in place. When the uprising of September 4, 1870, which overthrew the empire, took place, were not the Prussians in France? Were they not marching

victorious on Paris? No republican blames those who overthrew the empire in view of the necessity of saving the country whose destruction seemed imminent. They did not succeed. France was pillaged, dismembered. Her ransom cost six milliards and two provinces. When the uprising of March eighteenth broke out, those who resented the provocation of the uprising pointed to the necessity of saving the endangered Republic,—and the Republic was saved.



## EARLY TEUTONIC SOCIETY

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FOR the last five and twenty years or so, young people beginning to read English history have been able to start with some very pleasant notions about the life of their forefathers. According to the books that have been put into their hands,—we will hope they have been fortunate enough to be given Green's brilliantly written narrative (1874), but most of the text-books of the period have told the same story,—early English society was once upon a time curiously like some ideals that are widely cherished among "good Americans" and "sound English Liberals." It is true that our forefathers were warlike, and their virtues can only be characterized as rugged; but they were free and independent and self-governing, and models of social and political equality. Some, indeed, were distinguished from their fellows by noble blood and larger homesteads, but this nobility involved no legal privileges, and if it led to their being chosen to preside over the assemblies or to command in war, the choice was purely voluntary. We are, in fact, to compare them not with English squires, but with the "best families" of a New England village. Moreover, although there were slaves attached to the larger homesteads, it would appear that these were relatively few. It was "the common freeman," a tiller of the soil as well as a warrior, who gave its character to society. His holding lay side by side with those of his kinsmen, in one of those free townships which formed the original units of English government; the village moot was the germ out of which have sprung parliament and congress, and the whole nation was simply a body of farmer commonwealths.

When we come to look more closely into these village communities, as the books picture them, they display features in some respects still more interesting, for apparently they anticipated the speculations of some of the most utopian of social philosophers. There was a time when, outside the farmyard, there was no such thing as private property in land, when all ownership was communal. Every freeman was a freeholder, but this meant the possession of a right to a share in the common land. The pasture was used in common and the meadows were annually divided for many centuries. As to the plough land, it might be doubted whether the plan of periodical redistribution was ever practiced after the English left their original German home, and whether

a permanent allotment of the arable was not the rule in England from the first. But in the restrictions to which its possession was subject, there long remained many indications that the freeman's rights were really of the nature of usufruct, and were subordinate to the ultimate ownership of the community.

These common rights have passed away, and the villages of England have been for a long time the property of landlords, and accordingly the contrast between modern conditions and those ascribed to the past, at once suggests a formula of social evolution. The free community somehow became the manor, and the lord of the manor, the seigneur of the Middle Ages was, historically, the "usurper" of the rights of the primitive village group. It is not surprising that this epithet of Mr. Freeman's should have carried with it to some readers conclusions of which Mr. Freeman himself was not likely to dream; it is evidence of a deep rooted conservatism in England that it has not been more loudly echoed.

To return, however, to the supposed free village community itself. For about a quarter of a century past, there has been the image of early English society presented without a qualm of misgiving by almost all writers who have prided themselves on their scholarly character. And yet, so far as I can see, it was quite unknown before to English or American writers, with one exception. No one who read only the older English historians beginning, let us say, with Hume (1754), and then passing through Sharon Turner (1795), Hallam (1818), Lingard (1825), Palgrave (1832), and Hallam's supplement (1848), down to Pearson (1867), would have had any inkling of the existence of the institution. Of the painstaking work of the German scholar, Lappenberg (1834), which was translated into English by Thorpe (1865), and long enjoyed a high reputation, the same may be said, though a careful search may now reveal hidden away in a note or two some faint adumbration of the later teaching. The one exception was, indeed, an important one: Kemble's "Saxons in England" (1849) had much to say about "the original basis upon which all Teutonic society rests," that "voluntary association of free men who laid down for themselves and strictly maintained a system of cultivation by which the produce of the land on which they settled might be fairly and equally secured for their support," but for some reason, perhaps because the idea was stated vaguely and not without inconsistencies, the notion did not take a firm hold of English readers. The most distinguished disciple of Kemble was Freeman, until he came under another influence; and there is an observable advance in clearness of statement on this topic in the fifth volume of the "Norman Conquest" (1876), as compared with the first (1867).



It was, in fact, exactly in the middle of the period which elapsed between the appearance of these two volumes that the new doctrine was revealed in all its impressiveness to the English speaking world, and with such authority that there seemed nothing for it but to accept it at once. In 1870 appeared Stubbs' "Select Charters," with its masterly "Introductory Sketch," in 1871 Maine's "Village Communities," in 1874 the first volume of Stubbs' "Constitutional History." These two writers were quite sufficient to give the doctrine universal currency among the younger generation; their agreement illustrated the harmony between the profoundest learning and the widest historical philosophy.

And yet the free village community was not an original discovery on the part of either of these distinguished writers. William Stubbs, whose death we so recently have had to deplore, was, indeed, a great historian, but his really independent and priceless contribution to English history is not to be found in his treatment of the earliest centuries. He has created for us the figure of Henry II., he has drawn in clear outlines the administrative system of the Plantagenet kings, and he has shown, as no previous writer, the transition from a purely executive machinery to a system of parliamentary control. And this, great as it is, is not our only debt to him,—he has done much for the understanding of subsequent times, especially of that dull period, the age of Lancaster and York. And from the beginning to the end, Stubbs had read carefully through all the original sources then accessible; he was never a mere reproducer of other men's conclusions without reference to the authorities. But it is evident to any attentive reader of the first half of his first volume of "Constitutional History," that in dealing with the Anglo-Saxon period, Stubbs was but following German masters, not without criticism, but yet most respectfully. This was partly because, I imagine, early social institutions did not really interest him very much; still more because he supposed himself to be building on a completely secure foundation. He was probably the only man in England at that time who knew what the German constitutional historians had been doing for the last half century, and, in spite of his amusing insularity, he had a very high opinion of German scholarship. It seemed to him that in the opening chapters of his history he had nothing to do but to illustrate in a particular Germanic people the working of those institutions which had been already shown to exist in the Germanic race at large.

And this, which is true of institutions in general,—as may readily be seen by tracing his references to the standard treatise of Waitz, the "*Deutsche Verfassungsgeschichte*,"—is peculiarly true of the fundamental institution now in question. "The laborious investigations of

recent scholars," Stubbs wrote in 1873, "have successfully reconstituted the scheme of land tenure as it existed among the Germanic races." "The system, necessarily short lived in its integrity, leaves deep and abiding impressions wherever it has once prevailed." "It cannot," indeed, "be safely affirmed that the German settlers brought with them the *entire* system"; "the historical township has outgrown it"; "but of such an institution there are distinct traces." And as Stubbs avowed his indebtedness to Waitz on the field of constitutional history as a whole, so he repeatedly expressed his obligations to the German scholar who served as his chief authority for land tenure in particular. "Kemble has the credit of being the first to recognize the applicability to English history of the results of German investigations" into the land system, "but with his usual tendency to exaggeration. Since he wrote, the whole subject has been worked out by Dr. G. L. von Maurer in several treatises, the most important results of which for the history of early society agree with the view of Dr. Waitz in the 'Deutsche Verfassungsgeschichte.'" Or again, "the great authority on this is G. L. von Maurer, who has collected and arranged an enormous amount of material on the subject." And as Stubbs followed German scholars and mainly Von Maurer in his exposition, so he took over from them and naturalized in the English language the name they had given to it: the "mark system."

Sir Henry Maine was in many respects the very antithesis of the late Bishop of Oxford. Those large generalizations which the latter accepted as a matter of scholarly duty, and then seemed to hurry away from as fast as he could,—“I am not going to philosophize,” he cries out reassuringly, in one of his lectures,—were to the former the very breath of his nostrils. “For many years past there has been sufficient evidence to warrant the assertion that the oldest discoverable forms of property in land were forms of collective property, and to justify the conjecture that separate property has grown, through a series of changes, out of collective property or ownership in common.” There is the same grave dignity as in the language of his contemporary, but how different is the intellectual atmosphere! The caution which Stubbs displays as to the completeness of the system in England is altogether foreign to Maine’s generalizing temper: “the Township was an organized self-acting group of Teutonic families, exercising a common proprietorship over a definite tract of land, its mark, cultivating its domain on a common system, and sustaining itself by the produce. It is described by Tacitus in the ‘Germany’ as the *vicus*; it is well known to have been the proprietary and even the political unit of the earliest English society.” But like Stubbs, Maine relies entirely upon German authority. It is Von Maurer’s “series of



works" which have "fully established" the growth of private property in Germany out of ownership in common. He does not pause, as Stubbs does, to seek in early English documents for parallels to Von Maurer's German authorities. "Another learned German who has followed Von Maurer, Nasse of Bonn," has already sufficiently "called attention to the plain and abundant vestiges of collective Teutonic property which are to be traced in England." The mark in Germany and in England is but a datum to which he may proceed to apply "the Comparative Method," and for this datum he relies implicitly on Von Maurer: "I shall not attempt to do more than give you such a summary of Von Maurer's conclusions as may suffice to connect them with the results of official observation and administrative inquiry in India."

It is to Von Maurer, then, that we must turn, and we will leave England for a time and confine our attention to the German mother-land. Von Maurer's writings on this theme,—and he wrote not a little on other subjects,—form a stately array of twelve substantial volumes. But the volume which sets forth the history of the mark constitution, "*Geschichte der Markenverfassung in Deutschland*" (1856), the four devoted to manorial history, "*Geschichte der Fronhöfe, der Bauernhöfe, und der Hofverfassung in Deutschland*," the two given up to the village constitution, "*Geschichte der Dorfverfassung*" (1865-6), and the final four occupied with the municipal constitution, "*Geschichte der Stadtverfassung*" (1869-1871), are all elaborations and expansions of the one simple theme; they find the mark system at the back of all village life, all manorial life, and even all the town life of mediæval Germany. They present no real advance in doctrine over the original "Introduction to the history of the constitution of the mark, the manor, the village, and the town," "*Einleitung zur Geschichte der Mark, Hof, Dorf, und Stadtverfassung*," which appeared in 1854. We may be sure that very few of Von Maurer's admirers have ever pushed their studies further than the "Introduction"; nor, indeed, was that necessary. When Maine says that Von Maurer's "conclusions were very gradually developed," the speech bewrayeth him.

Forty-two years after its first appearance a second edition of the "Introduction" was published, with a prefatory essay from the pen of the distinguished anthropologist, Dr. Heinrich Cunow (Vienna, 1896). Dr. Cunow asserts that Von Maurer surpassed the attempts of his predecessors, in that he was the first to give a clear and intelligible picture of the primitive mark community and of its subsequent development, and that he may be said really to have rediscovered its significance. He asserts, also, that his conception of it is still, in essentials, universally

accepted. It would take us too far afield to examine into the precise relation between Von Maurer and his predecessors, like certain Danish writers on agrarian history or the best known of German agricultural historians, Georg Hanssen, on the one side, and the Grimms and other German legal and philological writers on the other side. And it may be observed that while most German scholars still maintain a position in the main identical with that of Von Maurer, his ponderously naïve formulations have so far suffered in scientific esteem that they are rather chary of the use of his name. But it is pretty safe to say that the "Introduction" was, between 1854 and 1890, the most widely known and was generally regarded as on the whole the most authoritative treatment of the subject.

The acceptance of the mark doctrine, whether from Von Maurer or from others, and whether in the precise form in which he set it forth or with slight and unessential variation, was undoubtedly largely due to the circumstance that it fitted into the general scheme of early political development which was just then being authoritatively proclaimed, and which is still maintained as the orthodox doctrine among constitutional and legal historians. It will be sufficient to refer in this connection to the great names of Waitz and Brunner. The fundamental ideas of that scheme were in brief these: that the German people is to be looked upon as originally composed of freemen, enjoying a substantial equality, governing themselves by mass meetings, and administering justice in popular assemblies; that the rulers were at first simply magistrates acting with a delegated power, and that it was only in the Merovingian and Carolingian periods that grants of conquered lands to favored individuals, on the one side, and the more or less compulsory subjection of the great body of the common freemen to their more powerful neighbors, on the other, led to the growth of landlordship and feudalism. For a faithful reproduction of the general spirit of this teaching the American reader may be referred to the chapter entitled "What the Germans Added," in Prof. G. B. Adams' "Civilization During the Middle Ages," published as lately as 1894. He will there be told of "the democratic cast of all their earliest governments" and of "the elements out of which the intervening centuries have developed modern free constitutions," although unfortunately they survived only in unbroken continuity in England, and in Germany itself yielded to the evil influences of Rome and the unfortunate necessities of centralization. All this seems but an expansion of the well known words of Montesquieu as long ago as 1748: "If one cares to read the admirable work of Tacitus on the manners of the Germans, one will see that it is from them that the English have drawn



the idea of their political government. This beautiful system was invented in the woods." Voltaire had made the railing remark that Rabiston might have been expected to profit rather than London by a system invented in Germany. But since 1768 there had taken place the war of liberation, and the whole "Teutonist" theory of constitutional origins may be compendiously described as the ideals of 1813, not done into verse as by Arnot, but done into history. This was, indeed, an unconscious process, although it is significant that Stein sought for consolation during the trying period of reaction under Metternich's influence in the creation of the "*Monumenta Germaniæ*," the quarry and rallying point of all the mediævalists of the subsequent century. Neither Stein nor the editors of the "*Monumenta*," nor Waitz, would have cared to use Professor Adams' term, "democratic"; Stein was a conservative Whig, as Seeley has pointed out. But the political theory of the Whig was, of course, at bottom a democratic one. At any rate, a century after Montesquieu wrote, the gravest German scholars were to be found taking their Tacitus very seriously. That Tacitus gave powerful support to the "common freeman" doctrine, cannot be denied; the surprising thing is that these scholars should have deemed half a dozen sentences out of such a treatise a sufficient foundation for so large an edifice. But they certainly did; the earliest Germanic laws were interpreted as fitting into the framework wrought out of Tacitus, and it seemed the most natural thing in the world that primitive Germans, so free and self-governing in their political assemblies, should enjoy at home the communistic equality ascribed to the mark societies of Von Maurer.

And accordingly it is not surprising that for two or three decades after Von Maurer began to write, the theory of the primitive village community took firmer and firmer root in the minds of German scholars, and became an accepted verity. With some it formed a notable part of that political outfit of the primitive German which gave him so proud a superiority over the degenerate Roman and the fickle Celt,—for the failings of the Celt it may be enough to refer to Mommsen. It was in the very year that the German Empire was created, in 1871, that the most "rigorous and vigorous" exposition of the current view, "*Die Fränkische Reichs und Gerichtsverfassung*," was published by the famous jurist, Rudolph Sohm. By other writers the mark was treated as the freemen form of a phenomenon observable among all peoples at a certain stage of their evolution. The village community had been early discovered in the Russian "*mèr*"; Maine had found it in India. And now in 1874, the celebrated Belgian publicist, Emile de Laveleye, announced the far reaching proposition that "collectivity" was the

original form of all ownership of land, "De la Propriété et de ses Formes Primitives." It is not impossible that *in a sense* the proposition is true, that when tribes or hordes or whatever else we may call large bodies of men holding together, had once been formed, the use of any particular patch of land by an individual or family was subordinate to the general right of the tribe as a whole to get its living upon the territory, and was accordingly subject to a more or less arbitrary control on the part of the chiefs. The question whether this is to be called "common ownership" or "collective property," then, depends on what we mean by "ownership" and "property," and becomes a mere question of terms. But M. de Laveleye,—with some inconsistencies, it is true,—usually thought of his community as a village community; in short, he generalized conceptions of Von Maurer and Maine. And his book, translated into German (1879) by an economist, Professor Karl Bücher, who has since acquired a remarkable influence over the younger generation of students, did much to settle the mark doctrine more firmly in the German mind.

It had a certain dramatic appropriateness, even if it has been unfortunate for the cause of truth that the first, and in some ways the most damaging, attack upon the current Teutonic doctrine proceeded from a French scholar. In 1875 M. Fustel de Coulanges published the first volume of a "Histoire des Institutions Politiques de l'ancienne France," covering the Gallic, the Roman, and the Merovingian periods. M. Fustel already enjoyed a high reputation as the author of "La Cité Antique," a work of brilliant historical generalization with much affinity of type to Maine's first work on "Ancient Law." Personally one of the simplest of scholars in his daily life, he had been appointed to give historical lessons to the Empress Eugénie, and the misfortunes of his imperial patrons, and still more the misfortunes of France, must have deeply impressed him. In 1871, he had been engaged in a literary controversy with Professor Mommsen as to the nationality of Alsace. It would be wronging M. Fustel to suppose that he consciously allowed national hostility to influence his judgment, but circumstances were certainly adapted to open M. Fustel's eyes to the weak points in German historical scholarship. His immediate subject was the institutional history of France. Now, among the older French historians there had been some well known names which represented what was called the "Romanist" view of French history,—that view which magnified the influence of Roman institutions on the subsequent development of France, and minimized the Germanic influences of the Frank conquest. M. Fustel differed from them in making a larger allowance for subsequent development; no scholar in this evolutionary age can deal with institu-



tions in the mechanical fashion of the eighteenth century. But he certainly gave an amount of attention to the institutions of Roman Gaul that was unusual; he certainly believed in a surprisingly large measure of continuity between Roman and post-Roman times. So far, then, he might be described as simply reverting to the old "Romanist" doctrine, and his views would seem to call for nothing but quiet and critical examination. And yet his book aroused an amount of feeling which so surprised and moved its author that he at once abandoned his cherished project of telling the whole story of French political development, and gave the rest of his life, until his death in 1889, to a long series of minute investigations of each of the main issues raised by the controversy, and prepared a set of elaborate, expansive restatements, which ended in substituting eight volumes<sup>1</sup> for the single volume of 1875. The chorus of outcry which he occasioned was due to two circumstances: first, to the fact that most of the contemporary French mediævalists had received their training from German teachers or German books, and looked upon the Merovingian and Carolingian rule, even so far as it affected the land which afterwards became France, through German spectacles, and secondly, to the fact that M. Fustel did not so much deny, like the older Romanists, a specifically German influence, as that any such influence as the German conquerors may have exerted could have been different fundamentally from that of the forces previously at work. It is this latter characteristic of M. Fustel's teaching that here most interests us. Strabo, he reminds us, expressly says that the Germans resembled, both physically and politically, the Gauls as they were before the Roman conquest; and then, going on to make his own comment on Tacitus, he declares that the Germans had the same institutions as other ancient peoples; he compares the *servi* of whom Tacitus speaks to the Spartan helots or other prædial serfs; he pictures the national assembly as doing little more than ratifying the decisions of the chiefs, and he refuses to see in the "Germania" the exposition of a system of "popular justice." Passing then to Merovingian times, he asserts that justice was administered much as it had been under the Roman rule; that it emanated from the prince not from the nation, and was far from recognizing "sovereign juries," and that the *mallum* of certain of the laws was simply a tribunal wherein a royal official, the count, administered justice, surrounded by certain assessors. So much, then, for the political postulates of the school of Waitz. As to the institution of property, he

(1) Two of *Recherches* and six of *Histoire*, four volumes of the latter appearing posthumously.

continues, there is no reason to suppose that the establishment of a German population in Gaul would interfere with the existing law of private ownership; on the contrary the newcomers exhibited in the highest possible degree an affection for property in land. There is not a single word in the documents to indicate that they practiced for a day a system of common ownership or periodical redistribution. And finally "in the documents of the sixth century the word 'mark' never appears in the sense of land held in undivided ownership which has been sometimes attributed to it; it signifies a boundary, either the boundary of an estate or the boundary of a private property."

We have here in 1875 the main propositions which M. Fustel spent the rest of his life in confirming. But it is curious to observe the remarkable contrast between his method here and in the later publications. Here everything is stated positively and in the fewest words; the references are entirely to the original sources; there is no mention by name of any of the German writers, and some of the most important of their doctrines, as that of the mark, are disposed of in a brief footnote. What he felt obliged to do afterwards was to take each of the opposing doctrines and examine bit by bit the various pieces of evidence that had been adduced for it. This is the character of the treatise, "On the Judicial Organization in the Frank Kingdom," published in the first series of "Recherches" in 1885. Here Sohm's assertions are followed one by one, at every stage, with the sledge-hammer criticism, "No document tells us that." Into the merits of this particular discussion I do not propose to enter; it is worth while referring to it only to remind the reader that the village community cannot be saved, as some of its latest defenders seem to think, by saying that it harmonizes with "what we know" of the early German governmental system. For it is precisely this supposedly firm constitutional basis that M. Fustel, wisely or unwisely, calls in question.

M. Fustel pursues the same method with regard to the question of land tenure which interested him more and more as time went on. He treated the subject at some length, first in a paper printed in the same year and in the same volume, and then in a further essay, dealing particularly with the citations of Von Maurer, as well as with certain applications of "the comparative method," which appeared four years later, and was subsequently reprinted in the second and posthumous series of "Recherches" (1893), in an English dress, as "The Origin of Property in Land" (1892). What M. Fustel had to say in these two essays is so natural a sequel to his earlier utterances that it will be convenient to speak of them now before passing to other writers.



The most striking part of his argument is that in which, from the mass of references at the bottom of Von Maurer's pages, he disentangles all the really early authorities and shows that they have nothing whatever to do with the supposed mark community. Thus the word "mark" appears some four times in the early Teutonic codes, but in two it was used for the frontier of a state, in two for the boundary of a private property. It occurs about twenty times in the later evidence furnished by the collections of "traditiones," or deeds of land, from the ninth century onward, but in all these it means as a rule nothing but "meter and bounds," or by a natural extension of sense, a private domain,—indeed "marca" and "villa" are commonly used as synonymous, and "villa" is clearly a private estate. In the rare instances where "mark" does not mean boundary or estate, it again means a frontier. The word "common" appears three times in the early codes, but in each case it would seem to refer to woods or fields owned jointly by two or more individual proprietors and remaining undivided. In the deeds of the ninth and tenth century, "commons" make their appearance, and in those of the twelfth the equivalent, "allmende," but these are visibly what the "commons" were in England in the later Middle Ages: lands over which rights of conquest were enjoyed by bodies of tenants, not owners, and they prove nothing as to the origin of such a state of affairs. It is no wonder that some of Von Maurer's followers are now disposed to argue that nothing depends on the appearance of the term "mark" or the adjective "common" in early documents; that it is the thing, and not the designation, that is at issue. But M. Fustel next proceeds to argue that what the accessible evidence does unmistakeably indicate, taken in the large and disregarding occasional obscurities, is the existence of private property, the prevalence all over the country of private estates, many of them of considerable extent and cultivated by serfs who are transferred with the soil they till. This may readily be granted as to the "traditiones"; it may be allowed that the primitive community had passed away before the end of the eighth century. But the matter is more serious when the same observation is urged with reference to the laws, for this would limit its existence to a time before the sixth century. However, there were scholars ready for that heroic concession, and inclined to find in the earliest codes only traces of a state of things already passing away. The number of such traces turns out to be very few; they are naturally the more confidently insisted upon. It must be allowed that M. Fustel does not always succeed in the alternative interpretation which he offers, e. g., for the celebrated *Lex Salica*, tit. 45; but what he does show is that the orthodox exegesis is

surrounded with such difficulties that one should be slow to build a whole theory of social evolution upon it. And without going further into the controversy concerning *titulus* 45, it may be enough to observe that some recent scholars, as, for instance, Professor Maitland, though they do not accept M. Fustel's exposition, are just as loath to accept the exposition which he criticized.

If, then, to put it gently, neither the laws nor the land charters *compel* us to believe in an original mark community, we have to fall back on Tacitus and on certain well known passages of Cæsar. To these, M. Fustel has turned his attention in several places, most elaborately in a monograph published in the first volume of "Recherches," in 1884. Outside holy writ, perhaps no three lines have been the occasion of so vast a literature during the nineteenth century as the passage in Tacitus about the way in which the Germans "occupied" their lands. I will not add to its bulk, but remark only that here again M. Fustel has shown, in my opinion, that the orthodox German exegesis is not the absolutely necessary one; his alternative is at least as plausible. As to Cæsar, that writer does certainly lay stress on the absence of private property, but he does not indicate ownership by a community in any such sense as that in which Von Maurer uses the term. What he does tell us is that the magistrates and chiefs annually assigned land, *gentibus cognationibusque* ("to clans and kindreds"), and next year "compelled them to move elsewhere."

We may say, perhaps, of M. Fustel's work that it constituted a very formidable negative criticism of the Teutonic doctrine as a whole, and a destructive one of the agrarian part of it. Some sort of "common property" might still be maintained for a very remote past, before the existence of a settled husbandry, especially if the "collectivism" be rid of its democratic and equalitarian glamour. But as against Von Maurer the argument was as complete as a negative argument well could be, and it is surprising that those who are concerned for his reputation should have allowed a new edition of the "Introduction" to appear without a word of alteration.

It is remarkable, however, how little attention M. Fustel received among German scholars. An occasional footnote, brushing aside his extravagances, is all that he is granted in the standard text-books. I cannot but think that this was, in the main, a mere consequence of national prejudice. But in part it may be explained by the unsatisfactory character of the alternative view which he proposed to substitute. Perhaps it can hardly be said that he offered an alternative to the dominant view for Germany itself. His concern was with France, and in France he



showed good reason to believe that the private estates, the *villæ*, of the landowners under the Roman rule, survived the barbarian settlement and grew into the "Seigneuries" of the Middle Ages. But the villa with the slaves and various classes of semi-free dependents clustered around it was, it might almost be said, M. Fustel's one positive idea, and when he saw the villa not only in Gaul but also in Tacitus and in the earliest and most purely Teutonic sources, the leap from one extreme view to another was too great for German scholars to be in a hurry to take.

By 1883, however, M. Fustel was not altogether alone. A young American scholar, Mr. Denman Ross, who has since given up to art what was meant for history, had arrived in the course of his graduate studies at Harvard at conclusions concerning the German land system almost identical on the negative side with those of M. Fustel, and had stated them in a series of more or less privately printed essays, beginning in 1877, and leading up to the volume on "The Early History of Landholding Among the Germans," published at Boston in 1883. Mr. Ross displayed a remarkable amount of learning and a surprisingly independent spirit, but as little attention had been paid by German scholars to the more minute scholarship and the more lucid exposition of the distinguished Frenchman, it is not wonderful that Mr. Ross's writings were looked upon as American eccentricity. It must be confessed, also, that he was even more ready than M. Fustel to attach a precise interpretation to the vaguest phrases of Tacitus. And it was not easy to fit all his conclusions into a general scheme. Unlike Fustel he believed in the existence in Germany in early times of the free village, but according to him it was "a clan village, not a village community. It was the home of a group of lords and kinsmen with their bands of followers and slaves. Each lord had his inheritance of land separated from that of his neighbors, and upon this land followers and slaves were employed as *cultores*." This clan village he regarded as the result of the rule of equal division of inheritance among sons, and he traced the group back to some original and single lord of the area. It was not, indeed, clear what were his ultimate views as to the relation between the clan village and the later manorial group of villeins. Are the mediæval villeins the descendants of the early slaves, bound to the soil from the first, or are they the depressed descendants of the supposed clansmen, or both? We can hardly find fault with Mr. Ross for not giving us entire satisfaction on this point; scholars twenty years later are only just beginning to keep this question well in mind. But the notion of a village of small landlords is one to which certain investigations of today are independently

arriving, and if it should prove a valuable one, as seems likely, Mr. Ross will receive the tribute due to his originality.

In 1883 there appeared a book which was destined, after the first astonishment had passed away, to exercise a considerable and disturbing influence in England, Mr. Frederic Seebohm's "English Village Community." Mr. Seebohm began by explaining, as it had never been explained before, what was the actual working of the manorial economy in England in the Middle Ages. He made clear the distinction between the land in demesne and the land in villeinage, and he helped us to realize as English students had certainly not been able previously, how burdensome were the labor obligations of the villein tenants,—obligations the whole purpose of which was to secure the cultivation of the lord's own demesne. And then, tracing the institution backward through the centuries of scanty evidence, he showed good reason to believe that what was afterwards called the manorial system existed in the time of Alfred, and that there were apparent traces of it even in the time of King Ethelbert in the sixth century. But more impressive than the bits of early evidence was the thought which Mr. Seebohm's book inevitably suggested, that an institution so firmly rooted in after ages, and existing without fundamental change during these centuries through which it could be traced, must have existed for centuries during which it could not be traced. The "open fields," with their intermixed holdings and the rights of "common" attached to them, were, indeed, the "shell" of a village community, but of a community, so Mr. Seebohm argued, in serfdom, and in serfdom from very early times. As to its origin, Mr. Seebohm did not speak systematically; he realized that there may have been "manorial" tendencies from the first in Teutonic "tribal" society, and to this subject of "tribalism" he has since returned. But he dwelt with so much insistence on the resemblance between the Roman and Frankish villa and the later English manor, that he was naturally supposed to trace back the manor to the villa. But in any case Mr. Seebohm contributed to the understanding of the nature of the problem to be solved, and if for that reason only was worthy of attention. But, although his book was translated into German (1885), it met with the same treatment as the work of Fustel: it was dragged as a victim in the wake of confident potentates. German scholars could not be induced to suspect that their whole structure required rebuilding until, to their great surprise, they were summoned to the task by fellow countrymen.

The bolt, or rather the bolts, came from the blue in 1896, in the shape of the two books of Hildebrand and Wittich. Oddly enough in



the very year before, in 1895, the free village doctrine had been restated in an unusually impressive form. Dr. August Meitzen, professor at Berlin, after the death of Hanssen, the highest living authority on German agrarian history, and for many years employed in official administrative duties which brought him into the closest touch with peasant life, published in that year the first instalment, in three ponderous volumes and an atlas of maps, of a mighty work on the "Wanderings, Agriculture, and Agrarian Law of the People of Europe North of the Alps" (quoted commonly as "Siedelung," from the first word of the sub-title). Here, for the first time, a systematic use was made of field maps for the purposes of historical construction. It was not, indeed, the first time that such maps had been printed and commented on. Mr. Seebohm had reproduced in miniature the map made of the Hitchen fields at the time of the enclosures; the late Mr. Mowat had induced the Oxford Press to publish a magnificent set of sixteen facsimiles in 1888; and Dr. Meitzen himself had already printed and commented on certain German maps. But now Dr. Meitzen not only produced some hundreds of maps, he found himself, with the aid of his pupils and assistants, in a position to survey practically the whole of Germany, and to divide the country into areas corresponding to the type of country life which each exhibited. In the centre was the land of compact but not symmetrical villages, surrounded each by its open fields, divided first into "furlongs" and these again into acre strips, and held in intermingled possession by the several villagers. This is the picture Mr. Seebohm has made familiar to English readers, and according to Professor Meitzen it is characteristically Germanic. To the east are villages more symmetrically arranged and with square fields surrounding them; these are specifically Slavonic; to the west are isolated farmsteads; these are or have been Celtic, and Dr. Meitzen assigns reasons in national character and polity why this should have been so. It is true that such economists as Roscher and Schmoller have supposed that differences of soil and other natural conditions accounted in great measure for the presence of villages in some districts and of isolated farmhouses in others; most of the supposedly Celtic districts are, as a matter of fact, either mountainous or sandy. Let us pass over this point and confine our attention to the purely German districts with their characteristic villages. Dr. Meitzen has a view of his own as to how they came into existence, and he has a nomenclature peculiar to himself. He imagines the Germans, while still in the pastoral stage, as grouped together in bodies of kindred made up of about a hundred and twenty families,—the primitive "hundred." As population increased, it became necessary to have recourse to tillage. This pressure

would be felt first by the poorer members of the group, who would insist on being allowed to make permanent settlements. They would be allowed to do so at least by the wealthier members of the hundred, but for a long time the greater part of the district over which they had once wandered would remain unappropriated and would be used for the pasturage of their flocks by those who still clung to a pastoral life. It is to this unappropriated land of a whole hundred that we ought to confine the word "mark," says Dr. Meitzen. The fact is that the only historical "markgenossenschaften" are the corporations, of which there are several in Northern Germany, composed of persons settled on land there in a number of neighboring villages, and possessing joint rights over certain woodlands, and this is Dr. Meitzen's conjecture concerning their prehistoric origin. We have no historical evidence concerning them before the close of the Middle Ages. But though Dr. Meitzen jealously refuses the "mark" to the village, he allows it the "allmende"; he occasionally speaks of the village area as a "dorfmark," and he describes the internal arrangements of the village groups in just the same way as those who call it a "mark community." His insistence, therefore, on a peculiar use of the term involves hardly more than a question of terminology. It is true Dr. Meitzen does not speak of any common property among the villagers, except in the "allmende" or pasture, but he again and again refers to the settlers as equals; he thinks of them as peasants themselves tilling the soil; he explains the intermixed holdings in the common fields as the result of a conscious policy directed at the maintenance of economic equality; he represents all the families in the hundred as following the example of the first settlers and finally establishing themselves in village groups, and he explains the subsequent growth of landlordship in just the same way as did earlier writers. He cites no authorities, evidently because it does not occur to him that there is any doubt attaching to what every German student can read in his Waitz or Brunner. But it is evident that his array of field maps, valuable as they will doubtless prove to be, do not themselves furnish an explanation of the origin of the conditions they depict. *Prima facie*, indeed, they might seem to strengthen Mr. Seebohm's general line of thought. Dr. Meitzen's book, therefore, had left the question, so far as proof is concerned, in much the same position it had been in for twenty-five years past, when the works of Hildebrand and Wittich appeared in the following year.

Dr. Richard Hildebrand is professor of political economy at the Austrian University of Graz in Styria, and he is the son of that Bruno Hildebrand who, fifty years ago, was one of the creators of the histori-



cal school of economists. His work, of which as yet only the first part has appeared, is entitled "Law and Custom at the Different Stages of Economic Civilization" ("Recht und Sitte auf den verschiedenen wirtschaftlichen Kulturstufen"), and it proposes to create a general philosophy of social history upon an economic basis. But, after fifty-six pages, setting forth, very sensibly as it must seem to most readers, the earlier phases of social development commonly known as the hunting and the pastoral stages, he arrives at the transition from pastoral to agricultural life and declares that the Germans in the time of Cæsar and Tacitus were just going through that transition; the remaining one hundred and thirty-four pages are given up to primitive Germany. Now while Hildebrand has a sufficient knowledge of the modern German constitution-  
alists and jurists, and of the historical material used by them, while he finds confirmation of his views in the Germanic sources, and has his own explanations of Tacitus and the Salic law, his method and his material are primarily anthropological. He has made a wide study of modern descriptions of existing barbaric and savage societies; he has collected a beautiful array of excerpts, and each proposition which he advances is supported by a set of illustrative citations printed at full length. He may be said to reverse the method of De Laveleye. While the Belgian scholar construed savage customs in the light of current views of primitive German conditions, Dr. Hildebrand seeks to arrive at some notion of primitive German conditions by a consideration of existing savage or barbarous practices. He seems to find many suggestions in the usages of the Kirghizes and similar partially nomadic peoples of Central Asia, as described by Von Middendorf and others. Among these, agriculture is resorted to only under compulsion by the poorer members of a tribe, but instead of its strengthening their independence as Dr. Meitzen imagines with the Germans, it is universally accompanied by a loss of independence. In various ways, by the acceptance of cattle from the richer members of the tribe, by the acceptance of food from them until the harvest is ready, the tillers sink into a condition of subserviency so marked that some observers have spoken of them as slaves. This, then, is the sort of process which in Dr. Hildebrand's opinion created the class of slaves spoken of by Tacitus in his description of Germany: slaves who, like the Roman *coloni* to whom the historian compared them, had their own homes and paid tribute in kind to their masters. The free Germans of the time of Tacitus were no peasants; they were warriors, living upon the produce of their herds, and leaving the tillage of the soil to their dependents. Perhaps Dr. Hildebrand touches a number of legal and historical points that he would

have done well to avoid, and there seems to be some truth in the criticism that the anthropological excerpts are at times wrested from their context. Yet the solution he traces does seem to be thinkable, and it does fit in pretty well with what we know of modern semi-pastoral societies.

To the German jurist, however, as, for instance, to Professor Brunner, Dr. Hildebrand's treatise simply appeared "strange," and it would have been passed over with that epithet but for the simultaneous appearance, from quite another quarter, of the "Landownership in Northwest Germany" ("Die Grundherrschaft in Nordwest Deutschland") of Dr. Werner Wittich. The genesis of this work is full of interest. Prof. George Fredrich Knapp of Strassburg is the creator of a new school of agrarian historians with objects very different from those of the older school. These younger men are primarily concerned with the social questions of modern Germany. One of the most vitally important is that of the landless agricultural laborer. Is his condition becoming worse or better? To what extent is he the creation by the legislation of the past century, and what can government yet do to improve the situation? Professor Knapp entered upon the inquiry some fourteen years ago with his new classic work on "The Liberation of the Peasants" in Prussia, and since then one after another of his pupils have taken this or that district of Germany until there is hardly a part of it that has not been touched. Dr. Wittich's treatise is simply the last in this most valuable series. But the period primarily considered by these works was the period 1750 to 1850; for the earlier development Professor Knapp and his pupils were long content to take what the legal historians told them. But at last the apparent improbability of the received story seems to have been driven in upon them, and Dr. Wittich took the bold step of making an entirely fresh start. Having told the modern agrarian history of Hanover in a way which has won universal praise, he added a brief appendix on the subject of origins. The Germans of Tacitus, he gives it as his opinion, were small landlords who met together in court and assembly, but took care, if they could help it, not to put their hands to the servile plough. Dependents provided them with food, and thus landlordship was among the oldest of institutions. The development in the Carolingian period was, therefore, in the main, not the creation of landlordship but the consolidation of landlordship. Dr. Wittich even indulges in some temerarious calculations as to the number of peasants attached to each free German, and arrives at the number four. This, however, is but byplay. The significant thing is that to a man like Dr. Wittich, with a thorough historical and legal training, and a profound acquaintance



with the rural life of later centuries, there seems no *prima facie* reason why such a completely revolutionary view should not be just as tenable as the older doctrine, and it does not seem to fit more easily into the subsequent course of affairs. And what made the announcement the more startling was that his master, Professor Knapp, seized the earliest opportunity ("Grundherrschaft und Rittergut," 1897) to take Dr. Wittich under his wing, and acknowledge that he found Wittich's view "very probable." "Our notions of early conditions have been altogether confused by the liberal affection for the free peasant class. It is not as if I prefer unfree peasants; people can make them as free as they can bear. But do let people at last cease to maintain that freedom was the primitive condition, simply because they prefer it."

Dr. Wittich's book, with Professor Knapp's blessing on it, has caused a stir in Germany which does not seem likely soon to pass over. And this for a reason which requires a further word of explanation. A jurist "pur sang," Dr. Philipp Heck, had published in 1894 a monograph on the constitution of the old Frisian courts, wherein he had maintained that the "nobles" of the early Frisian law were not a class of nobles apart from the great body of the common freemen, but that they were the common full freemen, and corresponded to the *ingenui* of Tacitus. Dr. Wittich naturally utilized so convenient a contention, extended the explanation to the Saxon law, and found in it a new support for his view that the only fully free members of the nation were men in the position of an aristocracy ruling over a subject majority. Dr. Heck's backsliding soon called forth the severe criticisms of Professor Brunner, who first made him responsible for Dr. Wittich's revolutionary theory which he christened "the landlord theory of the common free man," and then proceeded elaborately to refute him, in the "Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte" for 1898. In 1900 Dr. Heck replied to the criticism with an elaborate treatise on the position of the common freemen in all the Carolingian codes ("Die Gemeinfreien der Kaidingischen Volksrechte," 1900). He expresses his sorrow that he should have been so misconstrued as to be supposed to countenance Dr. Wittich's grave heresy; his "nobles (full freemen)" were not landlords but themselves peasants. But his own minor heresy he sticks to, and extends it to all the Germanic stocks. Here is a pretty triangular duel which may be left to German scholars to fight out. But it does not seem to be improper to remark that when two competent legal historians can each write elaborate treatises without convincing the other, the evidence can hardly be obviously conclusive on either side. And yet if so important a matter as this would seem to be can be called

into question, how insecure must be our footholds in the whole field of early Teutonic law! It may be added that the reader who, with Dr. Heck in mind, now goes back to his Stubbs, will find a sentence there which will have a new interest. "Primitive nobility and primitive land-ownership," Stubbs remarks in one place, "bore the same name." It is hardly necessary to say he did not draw either Dr. Heck's or Dr. Wittich's conclusion. And the final observation may perhaps be allowed that Hildebrand and Wittich and Heck and Brunner seem alike inclined to draw too sharp a distinction between "peasant" and "landlord." For my own part, I am inclined to think that the truth is probably much as Hildebrand and Wittich suppose, and yet I can readily imagine members of the socially superior class, the only full members of the national assembly, who did not rejoice in the possession even of four serfs,—who had to put up with three or two or one, and sometimes had to put their own hands to the plough.

Let us, however, now return to English historical literature. We began by reciting Green's picturesque and popular version of the teaching of his master, Stubbs. The years 1874 to 1883 saw the free village community theory at flood tide in England. Then came the startling surprise of Mr. Seebohm's novel theory. I have a vivid recollection of the bewilderment, of the incredulity mingled with alarm, with which it was received, for these were feelings which I, myself, for the time, entirely shared. It was not until two or three years had passed that the book began to make its way among a few English students, and that for the sake of the earlier portion of the work, tracing the manor behind the Norman Conquest to the time of Alfred, and producing an impression of permanence and continuity so vivid that it might well seem to have been rooted for centuries earlier in the English soil. But, with very slight exception, academic opinion held steadfastly by the doctrine of Stubbs. It was urged that if, as Mr. Seebohm seemed to suppose, the great mass of the Romanized provincials of Britain had been spared by the English conquerors to work the villas which they simply took over from their previous owners, England would have become, like France and Italy, a romance speaking land. In the same event, also, it was urged, there would have been the same continuity in the Christian church in Britain before and after the English invasion as with the church in Gaul before and after the Frankish invasion. Elsewhere I have endeavored to mitigate the force of these arguments, which, on the surface, it must be confessed, look convincing enough. Another and more technical argument was to the effect that the possession of a "court baron" was of the essence of a manor, and that a



court baron as distinguished from a "court customary" was a court of free tenants. Indeed, according to the legal doctrine of later times there were needed at least two "free tenants" for the holding of a court baron.

In 1885, however, appeared Fustel's first volume of "*Recherches*," introduced to the English public by a most respectful notice in "*The English Historical Review*," by Mr. Elton, who knew more than any other barrister in England of the details of modern manorial law and copyhold tenure. According to Fustel it seemed that the free village community even in Germany was but "a pigment of the Teutonic brain." It could not but be recognized how that the concise formula, "the mark became the manor," was at least open to grave doubt. And this was the position of affairs when, in 1888, appeared Professor Earle's "*Handbook to the Land Charters and Other Saxon Documents*," which marks the next important step in the progress of the discussion. Professor Earle began by completing the textual criticism of Fustel. Kemble, followed by Stubbs, had found the word "mark" in the English charters, usually, indeed, as a boundary but sometimes "in the full signification." Mr. Earle, speaking as a philologist, had no hesitation in affirming that Kemble's "restricted sense of a boundary" is "the only sense it bears in the records." He then proceeded to set forth his own hypothesis. He accepted the villa theory ascribed to Mr. Seebohm as probably true so far as it went: "the Roman villa does seem to supply with a remarkable fitness that dominical element in the manor, which is alien to the free agricultural community, and which cannot be derived from it but by a violent and arbitrary hypothesis of aggrandizement and occupation." But it did not seem to him sufficient. The new English lord of the villa, he conjectured, was the military leader of a company of free warriors. These settled down by his side in a sort of agricultural republic, over which the captain had but a kind of presidential authority. Thus the villa theory and the free community theory might both be true: "the difficulty vanishes if the manor had a composite origin."

Writing primarily as an Anglo-Saxon scholar, and putting forward this view only as a probable hypothesis, Mr. Earle was not called upon to show from historical records how the coalescence of these two very different elements took place. It is very possible that his theory will ultimately be found to state something like what did take place in some districts of England, though Mr. Earle somewhat artificially simplifies the situation for purposes of exposition. But what is worth observing is the reason which forced Mr. Earle to assume a free community by the side of an unfree. It was the later "duality of administration within

the manor," the existence, by the side of the court of the villeins, of the court baron "inseparably incident to a manor," with its free tenants "who (it is well known) were necessary" to its constitution. But in the very next year, two distinguished legal historians, Mr. Blakesley in "The Law Quarterly Review," and Professor Maitland in "Select Pleas in Manorial Courts," arrived independently at the conclusion, since generally accepted, that this distinction between the court of the freeholders and the court of the serfs is a growth of the later Middle Ages, and that Coke's doctrine of the necessity of a court baron cannot have been true of the eleventh and twelfth centuries for this reason among others, that there were evidently scores of manors at that time which contained no free tenants at all. After Professor Earle's book no direct contribution to the discussion of the first importance was made until Professor Maitland's "Domesday Book and Beyond," nine years later. The most noteworthy contribution during the period was an indirect one in the writings on Indian land tenure by the late B. H. Baden-Powell. Mr. Baden-Powell produced in 1892 the three massive volumes of his "Land Systems of British India," based partly on his own wide administrative experience, still more on the mass of official reports which had grown up in large measure since the time of Maine. Finding, somewhat to his surprise, that his account of conditions in Hindostan aroused the attention of others besides officials, he put together some of his results in a more compact form in his "Indian Village Community" in 1896, and in the still more popular shape of "Village Communities in India" in 1899. A brief statement of his conclusions can hardly be safely attempted, but it may be said with sufficient accuracy that according to Mr. Baden-Powell the "joint villages" of India and all "landlord villages" have arisen by subdivision among heirs or in some similar way, and the joint owners do not themselves till the soil. They have beneath them tenants of an inferior rank or caste who relieve them of that obligation. On the other hand, where the villagers themselves cultivate the soil, their properties are in severalty and there is no common ownership. The effect of Mr. Baden-Powell's authoritative declaration was to deprive the mark of its support from "comparative politics," so far as India was concerned, and from the time of Maine it had been India that had furnished the most convincing parallels. It had been seen long before this that the Russian "mèr" was not primitive enough to furnish confirmation.

With Professor Maitland's book the discussion, so far as English participants in it are concerned, assumed a distinctly new shape. His sympathies are evidently with the older Germanists, and the greater part



of his argument is directed against Mr. Seebohm and those who, like the present writer, have sought to produce evidence in support of Mr. Seebohm's contention. But while he thinks of England as having been settled, in the main, by English freemen, themselves tilling the soil with the aid of a slave or so apiece, and unaffected to any considerable extent by any previous agrarian or social system, he altogether refuses to make this free peasant's holding subject to any sort of communal ownership. More or less contiguous residences grew later into mediæval villages, but there was no real village moot; much of the apparent "communalism" of subsequent centuries was the result of "seignorial pressure," and private ownership was at first and for a long time as complete as the strong sense of the family bond could permit it to be. It may be felt that Professor Maitland rather too easily disposes of the open fields with their intermixed holdings and the compulsory rotation of crop and fallow. They "must have appeared less as the outcome of human ordinance than as an unalterable arrangement established by the nature of things," but after all we should like to have some glimmering of an understanding why the nature of things should operate in just that way. However, these ultimate conclusions of his are confessedly tentative, and what calls for more immediate attention are certain of his main lines of argument. One of them, that concerned with the original size of the normal holding, is too technical to be more than mentioned. He argues that it was originally one hundred and twenty acres, and if so, that it must have been the holding of a free man. But if so, and if the thirty acre unit, so commonly associated with serfdom in later ages, was the result of a mere subdivision of the original unit, it is queer that the subdivision should have gone just so far and no farther over so large a part of Europe, for the thirty acre holding confronts us wherever we turn, from the English midlands to the heart of Hungary. Another line of argument is even more subtle. There are hundreds of early Saxon land charters which, on the face of them, seem to convey the same lesson as Fustel drew from the continental "traditiones." They seem to indicate that at an early period England was covered with private estates which were transferred from one owner to another with the serfs upon them. Professor Maitland declares, however, that the intention of these charters is not to convey property; it is to convey a "superiority," and especially to convey to others the chieftain's right to certain food payments from free tribesmen; it was the sheer ignorance of the clerics who drew up the charters which caused them to use the inappropriate formulæ of continental chanceries. Now it is possible that food payments from free tribesmen,—such as Mr. Seebohm had recently called

our attention to in his "Tribal System in Wales" (1895),—was really one of the threads in the tangled web of feudalism, and it is not unlikely that Mr. Maitland has indicated the true nature of some of the charters which have to do with the borders of Wales. But it is not easy to accept it as the key to the whole body of early Anglo-Saxon charters. Mr. Maitland does not suppose that he has *proved* the contention; his argument, as I understand it, is that *if* food rents were so transferred, they may have grown ultimately into serf-like tenancies. But I must confess that it is inconceivable to me that if the authors of the charters meant food rents they should not have said so; there were convenient words like "cibaria" in their vocabularies. As it was, if they had wanted to express the transfer of estates they hardly could have used more definite language than they did. And, moreover, though I have not compared the phraseology of the English and of the continental deeds with any care, I cannot but feel that Mr. Maitland's argument is probably as applicable to the foreign records as to the English, and then "chaos is come again."

Far more convincing, and perhaps Mr. Maitland's most permanent contribution to the discussion, is the analysis of certain portions of the Domesday record. If Mr. Maitland interprets Domesday aright, many of the estates, especially in the eastern counties, to which Domesday attaches the term "manerium," were surprisingly small,—very many of but sixty acres, many of thirty, several of twenty-four, of twenty, of even twelve. Moreover, even where the area was tolerably large, the manor of the eastern counties "far from lying within a ring fence, often consists of a small nucleus of demesne land and villein tenements in one village, together with many detached parcels in many other villages, which are held by "free men" or "sokemen." "The manor of the eastern counties," he tells us with a humorous turn of phrase, "was a discrete, a dissipated thing." As a converse of this, a "manerium" by no means necessarily meant a compact agricultural group, a village with its circumjacent lands; indeed, many a village group was composed of ten or twelve sokemen holding under easy terms from six or eight lords, and in such cases we seem to have something like a free village community, minus the communalism which Mr. Maitland is glad to get rid of. These eastern county Domesday phenomena have to be reckoned with in future by any reconstructor of English social development.

It is so tantalizing to have the question floating loosely in the air that I shall venture to close this survey of the literature with one more theory, and I shall be following a time honored practice if this theory of



mine is of the nature of a compromise. It may perhaps serve as a suggestion for future investigators to bear in mind.

Suppose we divide England provisionally into three zones, eastern, midland, and western. In the west we have confessedly something different from what is found elsewhere, and if we may say it "has a Welsh basis" we may leave open the question whether the peculiarities are due to racial traits (as Dr. Meitzen would suggest), or to the tribal stage (as Mr. Seebohm would teach), or to the physical character of the country, suited only for pasturage (as Roscher would have thought). In the east we may imagine a large settlement of English freemen, and conceive of the subsequent development as taking place on an English basis. I should be disposed to think of these freemen very much as Dr. Wittich thinks of the continental Saxons; but after all, there is not so much difference between his conception of the continental Saxons and Mr. Maitland's of the English. Mr. Maitland is disposed to think that most of his English were so poorly provided with dependents that they had to handle the plough themselves, and live the life of peasants; Dr. Wittich thinks the free men of continental Saxony had usually so many serfs ascript to the soil that they may fairly enough be spoken of as landlords. Perhaps the truth lies midway. And in any case it will be interesting to compare the process of "villication" in Germany, whereby a certain unity was given to straggling properties, with the tendency to consolidation apparent in East Anglia before and after the Norman Conquest.

But for the English midlands I should still be inclined to suppose that the Roman villa served as a basis for subsequent manorial formation. Mr. Maitland delights in casting doubt upon the systematic character of the manorial régime, and nothing pleases him better than to discover an absence of symmetry. He sometimes writes as if there were not such a thing as a "typical manor," and perhaps in the eastern counties he is not far wrong. And yet Mr. Maitland allows that in the Domesday record there is "a great tract of England" wherein "the cases in which 'manerium' and 'villa' (township) coincide are common, and we may even say that they are normal." This "normal" manorial tract is the midlands, and we may readily suppose that by the time the wave of conquest had penetrated so far inland, the fury of the first onslaught had diminished, the land hunger of the "common freemen" had been satiated, and the existing organization with its settled population was allowed to remain.

I should thus throw out the suggestion that a distinction is to be drawn between eastern and central England not unlike what Brunner

and Meitzen have drawn between the greater part of Germany and the greater part of France. And the influence in the manorial direction which the western part of the Frank kingdom is supposed to have exercised on the eastern, may have been paralleled by a like influence of the English midlands and southern counties upon East Anglia.

But this is speculation. For some decades to come, the true scholar must content himself with an avowal of ignorance. The mark theory in its attractively idyllic form has gone; the villa theory can hardly take its place. Some room must be left for "the common freeman"; the question is what sort of a figure he was. And there are several promising lines of inquiry already being pursued. One is the anthropological investigation,—as it has been conducted by Professor Dargum,—into the usages of existing savage peoples in the matter of the occupation of land; another is the inquiry, as it is now being pursued by Professor Halban, into the legal conception of "private property" among the Franks and other Germanic peoples; a third is such an elucidation of "tribalism" and of "tribal" rules of descent as Mr. Seebohm, and in some measure Mr. Baden-Powell, have entered upon. And finally, and perhaps more easily controlled, there is the geographical identification and classification of the land charters of particular districts in the eighth and ninth centuries, such as Dr. Caro, in the "*Jahrlücher für National-ökonomie*" for 1901, has recently published for the country around St. Gall.

And as this article, I hope, has sufficiently shown, the problem is of far more than archæological interest. For, until we are able to place the centuries from the fourth to the ninth of our era into some relation which we can believe probable with the ages before and after, we must cease to generalize about the "History of the English People," or, indeed, of any modern people.



# THE AMERICAN SCHOLAR OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

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IN THE approach to my discussion of the present position of the American scholar, his opportunities and responsibilities, I do not wish to recall the fabled German professor who began his account of the Protestant Reformation with the creation of the world, or even the very modern instance of the southern statesman who found it necessary to base his argument for a Nicaraguan canal upon the Spanish conquest of America and the depressing influence of the Inquisition upon the native races of the western continent. Nevertheless, a reference to Benjamin Franklin is what first comes to my mind, prompted by the vague reminiscence of having read, sometime in childhood, an account of how our shrewd eighteenth century philosopher, beginning life as a tallow-chandler's apprentice, raised himself by his own unaided efforts to a commanding rank among his fellow men, and eventually,—for this was the impressive moral of the story,—was enabled to “stand before kings.” To the childish sense, this may seem a very imposing reward of ambition, but the maturer intelligence takes greater satisfaction in Turgot's famous epigrammatic characterization, “He snatched the thunder from heaven, and the sceptre from tyrants.” Kings impress our imagination when we are young, but somehow they lose their glamor when we grow up, and learn, among other things, that they wear clothes like our own, and a high hat more frequently than a crown.

We Americans, particularly, whose lives are consecrated to the ideal of democracy, are not likely to be overawed by any trappings of royalty, except in those tender years during which our individual development epitomizes the racial experience which we inherit. It has even been hinted, on the contrary, that we are apt to be over scornful of the outworn past, and unduly assertive of our own superiority over the effete older world, with its life of tradition and prescription. I have heard a story of Charles Sumner to the effect that once when traveling in England, his consequential manner and air of importance so impressed observers that one of them, curious to learn what manner of personage he might be, and of what exalted rank, ventured to put the question directly to him. “Sir,” was the reply, “I am an American sovereign.” The statement was conclusive, and, if the story be not apocryphal,

Sumner's way of making it is likely to have been such as to discourage further inquiries.

American sovereigns were created in such numbers by the American Revolution that it could not seem so great a thing for Franklin, or another, to "stand before kings" unabashed by their artificial magnificence. As the result of that momentous happening, the individual acquired a new dignity, and the simple virtues of upright manhood came to be held a more important possession than quarterings or pedigrees. But there is a royalty of a different sort to which tribute may be paid by the most democratically minded without any loss of self-respect. It is the royalty that holds sway over the kingdoms of the intellect, and exacts a homage that we willingly bestow. So our American revolt was declared against Tory ministers and Hanoverian kings, but by no means against the spiritual rule of Shakespeare and Milton, which we continued gladly and reverently to acknowledge. Yet it must be confessed that, with political independence achieved, our nation remained unduly subservient to the literature and the scholarship of our mother country. It was one thing to give unqualified allegiance to the great poets and thinkers whose fame was the inheritance of Americans no less than of Englishmen; it was quite another thing to look across the seas for every fresh inspiration, to be doubtful of our own powers and self-deprecatory in all matters of intellectual achievement, to remain uncertain concerning the value of our own work until it had received the seal of transatlantic approval. One cannot read very far in the literature produced by the first half century of our national life without discovering this to have been the prevailing attitude, and the more widely we extend the inquiry the deeper becomes this impression. As Professor Lounsbury says, "It requires a painful and penitential examination of the reviews of the period to comprehend the utter abasement of mind with which the men of that day accepted the foreign estimate upon works written here, which had been read by themselves, but which it was clear had not been read by the critics whose opinions they echoed." What was thus true in the field of literary criticism was true in almost equal measure in the field of scholarship, and it was evident that our political emancipation had still left us intellectually in leading strings. One lesson of national self-reliance we had already learned; another lesson, possibly the more important of the two, remained thus far unmastered, and almost unattempted.

That lesson was to be enforced by the man whose life and teachings we have recently been commemorating in this the centenary anniversary of his birth. Many tongues and pens have united in paying tribute to Ralph Waldo Emerson during the past months, but the sum of our obli-



gation to his memory has hardly yet been computed. It is comparatively easy to reckon up the influence of a thinker who has made definite contributions to the totality of human knowledge, or who has propounded some new thesis of vital importance, and won for it the acceptance of the judicious by force of logical presentation and persistent championship. We know pretty definitely what the world owes to such men as Adam Smith and Immanuel Kant and Charles Darwin. Their intellectual force is applied externally, so to speak, and its resultant is measurable. But Emerson was a thinker of different type, a philosopher whose principles defy formulation, and whose ideas have neither logical development nor systematic arrangement. He was the preacher of a gospel, not the defender of a creed, and no hobgoblin consistency was permitted to perturb his inspired musings. His influence was exerted upon the mind not externally, but from within outwards, and its aim was a sort of spiritual regeneration rather than the modification of any particular idea or set of ideas. As he once said, "It is of little moment that one or two or twenty errors of our social system be corrected, but of much that man be in his senses." It was said with pregnant significance by Goethe, the greatest among all of the moderns of this type of intellect, that "inner freedom" was the thing which men should, above all things else, strive to attain; that he felt it his chief title to the world's regard that his writings had been helpful in this direction. It will ever be the glory of Emerson that he aided many thousands of his fellow countrymen to win this, the most precious of all spiritual possessions. By treating idealism as the natural atmosphere of the free soul, he responded to the deepest instincts of our nature, for all the encroachments of materialism upon American life cannot wholly conceal the fact that this nation was founded upon idealism, political, ethical, and religious, and that it still believes in the sunlit peaks, however they may be obscured by the sullen vapors of these lower slopes upon which we grope from day to day. The time came, long before Emerson's own death, when his gospel bore its proper fruit, when his idealism became translated into action, and when it was seen, as Mr. Morley finely says, that his "teaching had been one of the forces that, like central fire in men's minds, nourished the heroism of the North in its immortal battle." Thus was Emerson's faith in the individual justified, and thus it will be justified many times over, if we give heed to his counsel. That "the kingdom of God is within you" is a worthy and a memorable saying of old. "All deep souls see into that," to use a phrase from Carlyle, and the truth has been reiterated from age to age by the wisest among men. The most insistent spokesman of individualism in our own day is

Henrik Ibsen, and his way of putting the matter is this: "Men still call for special revolutions, for revolutions in politics, in externals. But all that sort of thing is trumpery. It is the human soul that must revolt." If we give this truth its rightful meaning, not misinterpreting it as an excuse for quietism, nor ourselves withdrawing from the arena under its shelter, we shall find it to be the very essence of every philosophy of reform, the prerequisite of every effective effort for the regeneration of our social life.

At the close of the summer of 1787, the Fathers of the Republic were completing their arduous task of shaping that instrument of government which we call the Constitution of the United States, and which we hold in veneration as the fundamental law of a free commonwealth based upon the principle of self-government. Thus did our ancestors give lasting political effect to the ideas of the Declaration of Independence. Exactly half a century later, on the closing day of the summer of 1837, Ralph Waldo Emerson, then thirty-four years of age, addressed the Phi Beta Kappa Society of Harvard College in words that burned themselves upon the minds of his hearers, and marked an epoch in the history of American thought. His theme was "The American Scholar," and his utterance has, by common consent, come to be known as our intellectual Declaration of Independence. The young men who heard this address, says Dr. Holmes, "Went out from it as if a prophet had been proclaiming to them, 'Thus saith the Lord!'" From the very first paragraph, the address was a clarion call to the onset in our warfare of the spirit, a prophetic pæan sublimely confident of the intellectual victories that our future must have in store. "Perhaps the time is already come," said the young speaker, "when the sluggish intellect of this continent will look from under its iron lids, and fill the postponed expectation of the world with something better than the exertions of mechanical skill. Our day of dependence, our long apprenticeship to the learning of other lands, draws to a close. The millions that around us are rushing into life, cannot always be fed on the sere remains of foreign harvests. Events, actions arise that must be sung, that will sing themselves. Who can doubt that poetry will revive and lead in a new age, as the star in the constellation Harp, which now flames in our zenith, shall one day be the pole star for a thousand years?"

Let us pause for a moment to consider the leading ideas of this address, noting, in the first place, that Emerson is here more systematic than was his wont in after life, and that the address is constructed upon a definite intellectual plan. Beginning with the famous definition of the



scholar as "man thinking," as the "delegated intellect" in the social distribution of human functions, the essay goes on to discuss the attitude of the scholar toward the main influences that direct and shape his thought. "The education of the scholar by nature, by books, and by action,"—such is the tripartite scheme of the first half of the argument. Nature is with him always, and "he must settle its value in his mind." The tendency to classify her phenomena is instinctive, and leads through gradual steps to the final synthesis in which nature and the soul are seen to be complementary, and the modern precept to study nature becomes one with the ancient exhortation to the most complete self-knowledge. Turning from nature to books, the essay admits the value of their influence, but sounds a note of warning against over-dependence upon them, lest "men thinking" become no more than bookworms. "I had better never see a book than be warped by its attraction clean out of my own orbit, and made a satellite instead of a system." The influence of books must be "sternly subordinated to be free impulses of the active soul." Kept thus within their sphere, they are helpful and stimulating. "The discerning will read, in his Plato or Shakespeare, only that least part,—only the authentic utterances of the oracle, all the rest he rejects, were it never so many times Plato's and Shakespeare's." Thus viewed, reading becomes creation, and the reader remains in possession of his own soul. Next comes action, for it is by action that the soul really grows in stature. "The true scholar judges every opportunity of action past by, as a loss of power. It is the raw material out of which the intellect moulds her splendid products."

Thus far the essay is concerned with the scholar's education; the theme of the following section is found in a consideration of his duties. These "may all be comprised in self-trust," for the scholar must be both "free and brave." Such "being his functions, it becomes him to feel all confidence in himself, and to defer never to the popular cry. He and he only knows the world." "Let him not quit his belief that a popgun is a popgun, though the ancient and honorable of the earth affirm it to be the crack of doom." In patience, in sincerity with himself, and in complete self-reliance, the scholar bides his hour, and his brief existence compasses all the eternities. "The unstable estimates of men crowd to him whose mind is filled with a truth as the heaped waves of the Atlantic follow the moon." The man who is thus self-centred and self-trustful may "stand before kings" in the spiritual realm, for he is rightfully of their company. This sovereignty of the mind outranks all dynastic eminences, and is independent of all the forms of adventitious circumstance. "They are the kings of the world who give the color of

their present thought to all nature and all art, and persuade men by the cheerful serenity of their carrying the matter, that this thing which they do is the apple which the ages have desired to pluck, now at last ripe, and inviting nations to the harvest."

Finally, the essay proceeds to make its application of the principles discussed to American conditions as Emerson views them. He finds the age to be critical and discontented, its spokesmen uncertain concerning the past and hesitant in their attitude toward the future. But here is no cause for despondency; rather is there reason for exultation over the new vistas that open before the mind. "If there is any period one would desire to be born in, is it not the age of revolution; when the old and the new stand side by side, and admit of being compared; when the energies of all men are searched by fear and by hope; when the historic glories of the old can be compensated by the rich possibilities of the new era?" Reading the "signs of the coming days," the philosopher finds two of noteworthy import. The first is the entrance of democracy into literature, as illustrated by Goethe, Wordsworth, and Carlyle, with its fresh recognition of the common, the familiar, and the low. "Man is surprised to find that things near are not less beautiful and wondrous than things remote." The other sign is "the new importance given to the single person." For "if the single man plant himself indomitably on his instincts, and there abide, the huge world will come round to him." And thus we reach those famous words which are the very essence of this declaration of our intellectual independence. "This confidence in the unsearched might of man belongs by all motives, by all prophecy, by all preparation, to the American scholar. We have listened too long to the courtly muses of Europe. The spirit of the American freeman is already suspected to be timid, imitative, tame." But henceforth, "please God, we will walk on our feet; we will work with our own hands; we will speak our own minds. A nation of men will for the first time exist, because each believes himself inspired by the Divine Soul which also inspires all men."

Exactly two generations have passed by since these burning words fired the American spirit to a new and lofty purpose. It has seemed to me fitting, in this secular year of Emerson's birth, thus to recall his most pregnant message, and to inquire, such being the teaching inculcated upon our grandsires, what their grandsons should make of it, and in what spirit they should apply it to this new age in which we live. In its fundamental ideas, the teaching is no less vital today than it was when first delivered, for it rests upon the enduring principles of human nature, upon a rational interpretation of the relations between life and thought.



But, as Lowell reminded us long ago, "new occasions teach new duties," and it may well be that a somewhat different envisagement of the attitude of "man thinking" toward his fellow men will be found desirable in our own day and generation.

It is with this thought in mind that the subject of the present essay has been chosen, and that I invite the attention of my readers to a consideration of the duties of the American scholar under the "form and pressure" of the time of whose body we are a part. Thus sheltering myself in the shadow of a great name, my only wish is that what I say may be seen in his light, and be found not inconsistent with the spirit of his teaching.

The fulfillment of prophecy is not generally literal and Emerson's forecast offers no exception to this rule. It has ever been the fashion of oracles, from the time of the Sibyls and the Delphian tripod, to couch their deliverances darkly, and to prove themselves justified by the event in a fashion different from what was anticipated. But considered broadly, American scholarship has freed itself from the reproach of being "timid, imitative, and tame." It has done its part in the opening of new avenues of research, it has displayed qualities of marked originality, and it has grown bold in its self-reliance. In some of its manifestations it may be said to have bettered Emerson's instruction, and not to its advantage, for boldness may merge into recklessness, and impatience of restraint into lawlessness, while the desire to be original at all costs may lead to a wanton disregard for the example of other times and lands. Aversion to "the courtly muses of Europe" has sometimes driven us into a national chauvinism of empty self-conceit that Emerson would have been the last to countenance. But on the whole, we have no reason to be ashamed of our intellectual performance, for it has been widely varied, solid, and influential. Many of our younger scholars are equipped here at home with a training that means quite as much as any that the old world can give, many of our older scholars have acquired full citizenship in the cosmopolitan republic of learning. American scholarship has its own peculiar coloring, no doubt, for it is the reflection of American activities and aims, but it can hold its own in any company. If its accidents are not altogether what the most thoughtful might wish them to be, if the ideal of knowledge has crowded too closely on the ideal of culture, and the material has left the spiritual hard pressed for light and air, these are defects for the future to remedy, and to realize them that they may be remedied becomes one of the prime duties of the present day.

Every man is "a debtor to his profession," as Lord Bacon long ago

reminded us, and the educational profession is one that has special claims upon the American scholar. No matter what his department of work may be, he is bound to give his activity an educational turn, for this country, more fully perhaps than any other, accepts public education as one of the chief civic responsibilities. The great majority of our scholars are, indeed, and will long continue to be, engaged in the work of actual teaching, and those who are not so engaged, are usually in a position to exert a shaping influence upon our educational life. The complaint is often made that the advancement of learning suffers from this absorption in narrow educational tasks, and it would no doubt be desirable to free from that exaction a larger proportion of our scholarly energy than can now be devoted to research for its own sake. But it would be unfortunate indeed if scholarship should become wholly divorced from teaching, or if the duty to impart should not remain closely allied with the duty to investigate. The present time in this country is one of almost unexampled educational unrest, and more than ever before does it behoove the scholar to bring guidance to the forces at work, and to clarify the ferment. For, despite our generous public appropriations and our munificent private endowments for educational purposes, it is by no means true that all is rosy in this field of endeavor. There is still waste of the most wanton sort, and such misdirection of effort that a considerable share of the energy is dissipated. Particularly is this a time of reckless experimentation and of a confused sense of educational values. The old and tried disciplines, whose effectiveness has been tested by ages of experience, are now forced to contend for supremacy with all sorts of upstart matters. Reasoning, apparently, upon the analogy offered by the equality of individuals in a democracy, we are gravely bidden to accept a democratic system of education in which all subjects of study are held to be equivalent, and, to reduce the theory to its last absurdity, in which young people of all degrees of immaturity are encouraged to select their subjects according to their likings. The disciplinary aspect of education has in many quarters vanished clean out of sight, entertainment is offered in place of training, and the will, instead of being strengthened by the stimulation of its powers of resistance, is weakened by all sorts of concessions to the spirit of an easy-going self-indulgence. And all these evil things are done in the name of a sentimental pseudo-philosophy, with an imposing array of high-sounding terms at its command, whose pretensions are in reality as hollow as those of the veriest wind-bag giant of fairy lore. The peculiarly unfortunate feature of all this dallying with the new thing, this disregard of the accumulated wisdom of the generations, is that an incalculable amount of mischief may be done



before the common sense of the people is aroused sufficiently to call a halt. This lesson is likely to be learned only at the expense of a whole generation of luckless youngsters. Here, then, is a manifest duty of the American scholar toward his profession, to stand for a wise conservatism in educational theory and practice, to distrust all nostrums, and in the name of a sound psychology to expose and rebuke the mischievous tendencies of a pedagogy which is weakening the stamina of the new generation, and in which, while the teacher withers as an individual influence, the system is more and more.

In the higher ranges of his profession, and in those which more immediately concern his personal occupation, the scholar has no clearer duty than that of standing for "Lehrfreiheit" in the most absolute sense. He must teach the truth as he sees it, and he must join with his fellow scholars in the determination that by every means in their power this freedom shall be kept inviolate. This does not imply that all truths are fit for all seasons and places, but it does mean that no paltering with truth is permissible in the exercise of the sacred function of scholarship. When the occasion for plain speaking comes, as come it must upon many occasions in the scholar's life, he can admit no compromise with error, for the spirit of compromise is no other than Satan, as Henrik Ibsen vehemently reminds us, and a man may have commerce with it only at the peril of his soul's salvation. The great French scholar who died only a few months ago has formulated in impressive words what must be the fundamental creed of all his guild. It was in 1870 that Gaston Paris, in a lecture at the Collège de France, spoke these noble words:—"I profess absolutely and without reserve this doctrine that science has no other aim than truth, and truth for its own sake, without care of the consequences, good or ill, regrettable or happy, which that truth may have in practice. He, who, from a patriotic, religious, or even from a moral motive, allows himself in the facts that he is studying, in the conclusion that he draws, the smallest dissimulation, the slightest alteration, is not worthy of a place in the great laboratory to which truthfulness is a more indispensable claim to admission than skill. Thus understood, studies in common carried on in the same spirit in all civilized countries, form, above restricted, diverse, and often hostile nationalities, a great fatherland which no war soils, which no conqueror threatens, wherein souls find the refuge and the unity which the citadel of God gave them of old." It was Ernest Renan who asked that the words *Veritatem dilexi* should be graven upon his tombstone, and what nobler epitaph could any scholar wish than one that should inform passers-by that above all things else he delighted in the truth?

For he who stands by the truth in its hour of good and of ill repute alike steadfast to its banner, fights upon the winning side, and his personal defeat will only advance the triumph of his cause. As St. Augustine said, "It is a good thing for a man that truth should conquer him with his consent, since it is a bad thing for a man that truth should conquer him without his consent. For that truth conquer is necessary, whether he deny or confess." The proposition that truth must be served whatever the personal sacrifice becomes in its converse statement the proposition that falsehood must be combated whenever and wherever it raises its head. And on this aspect of the matter the words of the old theologian may be supplemented by the words of the modern philosopher. In all the writings of Schopenhauer there is no more impressive passage than the following: "It has often been said that we ought to follow truth even though no utility can be seen in it, because it may have indirect utility which may appear when it is least expected, and I would add to this, that we ought to be just as anxious to discover and to root out all error even when no harm is anticipated from it, because its mischief may be very indirect, and may suddenly appear when we do not expect it, for all error has poison at its heart. If it is mind, if it is knowledge, that makes man the lord of creation, there can be no such thing as harmless error, still less venerable and holy error. And for the consolation of those who in any way and at any time may have devoted strength and life to the noble and hard battle against error, I cannot refrain from adding that, so long as truth is absent, error will have free play, as owls and bats in the night; but sooner would we expect to see the owls and the bats drive back the sun in the eastern heavens, than that any truth which has once been known and distinctly and fully expressed, can ever again be so utterly vanquished and overcome that the old error shall once more reign undisturbed over its wide kingdom. This is the power of truth; its conquest is slow and laborious, but if once the victory be gained it can never be wrested back again."

The spirit of easy toleration of ills which a little resolution would remedy has given a distinctive stamp to the American character. As a people, we are inclined to put up with many forms of evil in the material, social, and intellectual spheres simply because their pressure has not grown intolerable. We fall too easily into a state of apathy and of complacent acceptance of things as they are, and our resentment is slow to be aroused. That it may be most effectively aroused at a critical juncture has been shown at many times in our history, and in this fact is the saving element of an otherwise dangerous tendency. Too often, however, the crisis past, we sink back into our sluggish mood, and our



life resumes the old round of indifference and self-delusion and folly. The lessons of experience are too quickly forgotten, and we are forced to learn over and over again under the sharp stress of impending disaster. In the sphere of thought, this spirit leads us to condone all sorts of lapses from intellectual integrity, and to sanction all sorts of pernicious mental practices. We gloss over a disagreeable situation with plausible phrases, and, while giving lip service to our ideals, ignore them in our actions. But that way lies hypocrisy, which of all the intellectual vices must ever be the ugliest to the earnest thinker. It infects our higher life at every point, and discredits our religion, our politics, and our social philosophy alike. Of all the prayers which we offer up for spiritual well-being, we should repeat most frequently and most fervently this prayer of Carlyle's: "May the Lord deliver us from all cant. May the Lord, whatever else he do or forbear, teach us to look facts honestly in the face, and to beware (with a kind of shudder) of smearing them all over with our despicable and damnable palavar, into unrecognizability, and so falsifying the Lord's own gospels to his unhappy blockheads of children, all struggling down to Gehenna and the everlasting swine's-trough for want of gospels."

It is a hard saying, albeit a racy one, this remark of Carlyle's about "the everlasting swine's-trough," but it characterizes an aspect of our civilization that cannot be ignored, and that should give us pause in our seasons of rejoicing and self-glorification. Even the gentle Emerson, in whose composition indignation was lacking, and the chief defect of whose philosophy is its failure to face the problem of evil, was driven to denounce "the vulgar prosperity that retrogrades ever to barbarism," and to declare, in the very address that has supplied a text for the present discourse, that "public and private avarice make the air we breathe thick and fat." If this were true two generations ago, with how much more of truth must the charge be made today, when in the minds of the great majority of our fellow countrymen material prosperity is the chief measure of worldly success. Do we not as a people frequently set before ourselves for examples the men who have accumulated stores of wealth rather than the men who have accumulated stores of wisdom? Do we not sometimes even acclaim them as our leaders, forgetful of Jethro's ancient counsel, "Thou shalt provide out of all the people able men, such as fear God,—men of truth, hating covetousness"? Here is surely an opportunity for the American scholar,—to protest not so much by his words as by his life against the prevailing commercial standards, to emphasize the dignity of his calling by showing himself calmly superior to the allurements that prove so dazzling to other men, to bring back to

us by the force of his example that ideal of plain living and high thinking which was once a potent force in our national life, but from which our civilization has in these later years so sadly lapsed. That scholar is unworthy of his high office who joins in the querulous complaint raised now and again to the effect that scholarship does not command material rewards proportional to those won by other forms of endeavor. Are its own peculiar rewards to count for nothing then,—its honors, its self-sufficing activities, its sense of the esteem in which it is held by all whose approval is really worth having? The true scholar, rejoicing in his work, and knowing it to be good, will reckon little of the prizes for which the vulgar strive; he will think of nothing less than of success in the worldly sense, as the free man, in Spinoza's immortal saying, "thinks of nothing less than of death."

The rising tide of that movement which in the political sphere we call socialism, but which has many other manifestations as well, and which threatens to subdue the brightly colored world to a uniform hue of sober gray, constitutes one of the most insidious present dangers to scholarship. In the name of a social ideal almost wholly materialistic, and under the protection of a narrow interpretation of the utilitarian philosophy, this movement is everywhere seeking to weaken individual initiative and thus clog the feet of progress. Emerson apprehended this danger, and commented upon it with a vehemence quite out of keeping with his wonted placidity. "Is it not the chief disgrace in the world," he said, "not to be an unit; not to be reckoned one character; not to yield that peculiar fruit which each man was created to bear, but to be reckoned in the gross, in the hundred or thousand, of the party, the section, to which we belong, and our opinion predicted geographically, as the North, or the South?" It was an unerring instinct which led Emerson to put his finger upon this tendency, and mark it as dangerous to civilization. I might quote similar words of warning from such different types of men as John Stuart Mill, Thomas Henry Huxley, and Henrik Ibsen. Huxley was the one who supplied us with a name for this tendency. He called it regimentation by way of contrasting it with individualism, and proceeded to analyze the history and theory of the two opposing systems in the sphere of governmental action. But it is a contrast which may be illustrated in the realm of thought no less than in that of action, and the scholar is quite as much concerned with it as the politician. In view of the ever increasing encroachments of the method of regimentation upon our modern life, it seems to me that the duty of the scholar is pronounced to take his stand in the defence of that individualism which was the core of Emerson's philosophy, yet avoiding



the extreme of intellectual anarchy to which an unrestrained acceptance of that view might lead, and admitting the helpfulness of concert wherever its aid may be invoked without harm to character or without clipping the wings of free thought.

Whatever the work that may engage his attention, the American scholar is bound by every sacred obligation to put ethical purpose into his effort, and to recognize the claims upon him of the society to which he belongs. He has no right to the self-indulgence of the recluse, and indifference to the public weal must be to him more than to other men a shame. No man is less entitled to escape from the press, to scan the follies of his fellows unconcerned, to say "a mad world, my masters," and hold himself aloof from its turmoil. For if it be a mad world, upon him chiefly devolves the responsibility for its conversion to sanity, and to shirk this responsibility is the great refusal for which there is no forgiveness. It may be, indeed, that the world will demand of him something more than clear thought and wise council, that duty may call upon to make the final sacrifice for the good of his fellow men. The sons of Harvard who fell in the struggle for the preservation of our American national life were in very truth what Lowell called them:—

"Her wisest scholars, those who understood  
The deeper teaching of her mystic tome,  
And offered their fresh lives to make it good."

This ideal of scholarship, its conception enlarged until it becomes coincident with citizenship, is nobly expressed in the inscription which occurs in a painting of the last judgment which adorns the great hall of the Ducal Palace in Venice. "Those are to be accounted wise who, by their own, avert their country's perils, for they render to the republic the honor which is its due, and would rather perish for, than with, many. For it is desperately wicked that we should treasure for ourselves the life which nature bestowed for our country's service; to surrender it at nature's demand, but refuse it when our country asks it. Wise, too, must they be accounted who shun no danger in their country's service. This is the price we are bound to pay for the dignity we enjoy in the republic, this the foundation of our liberty, this the wellspring of justice." In such stately terms was wisdom defined by the little island republic of the Adriatic; our own continental republic, its shores washed by two oceans, will hardly be able to better that instruction, or improve upon that ideal of devotion to the commonwealth.

In the familiar Pauline statement of the abiding elements in the Christian life, the chief emphasis is placed upon love, which is exalted

above both faith and hope in the hierarchy of the cardinal virtues. Having in view the needs of the person alone, of the individual soul aspiring toward the divine, this emphasis is justified, and two thousand years of Christian teaching have enforced the apostolic precept. But from our present standpoint, having in view the development of the race rather than of the individual, it would seem that faith were the foremost consideration. Faith, that is, not in a creed or a body of doctrine, but in the validity of every fine, altruistic impulse, of every generous motion of the spirit. A faith that derives its sustenance from the contemplation of earth and sea and sky, from the forms of beauty created by architects and painters and musicians, from the inspired utterances of sages and prophets and poets. A faith that is proof against all frustrations and disappointments and disillusionments because it views all temporal phenomena under the species of eternity. A faith in the perfectibility of mankind which can turn, like that of Tennyson, from the most unflinching envisagement of present-day evils,—from “the passions of the primal clan,” from wisdom pilloried in the market-place, from the menace and the madness of a degenerate age,—turn serenely and with undimmed vision from all the disheartening spectacle to man as he may yet become when the æons “touch him into shape”:—

“All about him shadow still, but, while the races flower and fade,  
Prophet-eyes may catch a glory slowly gaining on the shade,  
Till the peoples all are one, and all their voices blend in choric  
Hallelujah to the Maker, ‘It is finished. Man is made!’”

It is a faith of this fervent and invincible type that shines out in some of the darkest hours of modern history, and enshrines for us the memory of the men who have held it fast. Examples from the poets and seers of the modern world might be multiplied indefinitely, but I choose rather to direct attention to men who have been both thinkers and doers, to men who have been scholars in Emerson’s sense, if not also in the narrower and more exacting sense of the term. First of all, there is the familiar passage from Condorcet’s “*Progrès de l’Esprit Humain*.” “How this picture of the human race freed from all its fetters, withdrawn from the empire of chance, as from that of the enemies of progress, and walking with firm and assured step in the way of truth, of virtue, and happiness, presents to the philosopher a sight that consoles him for the errors, the crimes, the injustice, with which the earth is yet stained, and of which he is not seldom the victim! It is in the contemplation of this picture that he receives the reward of his efforts for the progress of reason, for the defence of liberty. He ventures to link them with the



eternal chain of the destinies of man. It is there that he finds the true recompense of virtue, the pleasure of having done a lasting good. Fate can no longer undo it by any disastrous compensation that shall restore prejudice and bondage. This contemplation is for him a refuge, into which the recollection of his persecutors can never follow him; in which, living in thought with man reinstated in the rights and the dignity of his nature, he forgets man tormented and corrupted by greed, by base fear, by envy; it is here that he truly abides with his fellows, in an elysium that his reason has known how to create for itself, and that his love for humanity adorns with all purest delights." These words, as Mr. Morley points out in telling phrase, were "written by a man at the very close of his days, when every hope that he had ever cherished seemed to one without the eye of faith to be extinguished in bloodshed, disorder, and barbarism." An equally sublime faith was voiced by Mazzini at a time when the spirit of Italian liberty seemed well nigh extinct, and when to prophecy its rebirth was like preaching the resurrection of the dead to an unbelieving generation; "Faith and the Future" was his theme, and in eloquent terms he proclaimed that faith should once more be restored to its throne in the minds of men, and the future made fair. "And then," he went on to say, "made fruitful by the breath of God and of holy beliefs, poetry, now exiled from a world that is a prey to anarchy, will blossom yet again; poetry, the flower of the angels, that martyrs' blood and mothers' tears have fed, that oft will grow amid ruins, but is ever colored by a rising sun. It speaks to us in prophetic tones, of humanity, European in substance, national in form. It will teach the Fatherland of the Fatherlands to the nations still divided; it will translate into Art the religious, social philosophy, it will surround with its own beautiful light, woman, who, though a fallen angel, is ever nearer to heaven than we. It will hasten her redemption, restoring to her the mission of inspiration, of pity, and of prayer, which Christianity divinely symbolized in Mary. It will sing the joys of martyrdom, the immortality of the vanquished, the tears that expiate, the sufferings that purify, the memories and the hopes, the traditions of one world interwoven in the cradle of another,—and it will teach the young the greatness of self-sacrifice, the virtue of constancy and silence, how to be alone and yet despair not, how to endure without a cry an existence of torments half understood, unknown, long years of delusions and bitterness and wounds, all without a complaint, it will teach a belief in future things, an hourly travail to promote it, without a hope in this life of seeing its victory." It was a faith of this type, bound up with a passionate patriotism, that filled the soul of James Darmesteter, a scholar in the fullest sense, yet

also a dreamer, whose life was cut off in his early prime. This vision of France as she stood revealed to him in the light of history, is taken from the tribute paid to his memory by the English poet whom he had made his wife. "The profound determination of France not to die, not to fall from her proud estate, not only to have like other nations her share of sunlit life, but to remain, in the future as in the past, one of the guiding forces of humanity, continued to be the infallible motive power that impelled her, straightforward and upright, along the strange paths in which she was drawn by her blind guides. Thus, from those pygmy conflicts in which she seemed resigned to let her light die out, there arose an eternal France, a France of today and of tomorrow, made up of her clear sky and her fertile soil, of her wealth amassed in toil, in glory, and in pursuit of the ideal, by sixty generations of laborers, scholars, and thinkers, of the gleam of her sword and the echo of her word, borne as far as mankind exists. That is a heritage not to be destroyed by six months of defeat and twenty years of fever, that the inheritor himself may neither reject nor squander, for the heritage constrains the inheritor, however he may be disappointed or in whatever manner he may deal with it, even were he the sovereign people. That is the immanent France of which our foolish and shifting agitations are but fugitive phases without lasting effect; the sole great and durable reality, invisible yet ever present, present in every Frenchman, in those who deny their country and in those who proclaim her, toward which all faces are turned in the hour of anguish." These three illustrations of the fortitude of soul that faith in the future alone can give, have for their common factor an unwavering confidence in the ultimate triumph of right over wrong and of light over darkness. Each of them in its own way, and with its own individual accent, points to a future humanity upheld by what Henrik Ibsen calls the true pillars of society, the twin pillars of truth and justice.

It is the highest duty of the American scholar in our new century to uphold, not merely the faith in humanity to which these voices have borne testimony, but also the special faith that to our own nation has been given the mission to lead the world toward a true conception of the fellowship of man, that the new world has, indeed, been divinely appointed "to redress the balance of the old." That democracy must in the end prevail in the societies of human beings who are worthy to be called men, was held to be truth unquestionable by the Fathers of the Republic, and whatever strength has hitherto nerved us in the great crises of our national life has been born of that belief,—our splendid heritage from those who have gone before us and whose example we are fain to



emulate. In our own day, that belief has found no lack of advocates, and among them we hold in most grateful remembrance that fine flower of American scholarship and American manhood whose Birmingham address on "Democracy" offers the most persuasive and convincing modern exposition of our political gospel. James Russell Lowell seems, indeed, to have been the ideal American scholar of Emerson's prophecy. Singularly receptive to the benign ministries of nature, he was also at home in the world of books, yet he never allowed books to usurp for him the claims of life. And when the pressure of events called upon him to act, he stepped buoyantly into the arena, and bore his share of the brunt of the conflict. He held, moreover, that the duties of scholarship were paramount to its privileges, and shirked no task that was set him to perform, cast aside no burden that was laid upon his shoulders. And to all his life-activity he brought the moral fervor that had come down to him from the generations of his Puritan ancestry, and nursed the fire of his indignation until it became a devouring flame upon all those who sought selfish aims at the expense of the commonwealth. How we have missed him during these dark recent days, when democracy has been so sorely wounded in the house of her friends! How we have longed to hear his voice raised to rebuke the miserable evasions and concealments and palterings with truth that have prevailed in our public councils of late! How we have felt the need of his moral authority to reclaim us from recreancy to our national ideals, from desertion of the fundamental principles upon which is based whatever we have achieved of true greatness, from the casting loose of the very moorings of the Republic! For it must be confessed that democracy is undergoing a severer strain than was ever before imposed upon it, and it takes a stout faith not to quail under this trial. The horizon of our new century is not, like that of its predecessor, arched by the rainbow of promise after the storm of revolution, but is obscured by miasmatic vapors and sullen exhalations wherein lurk the dragons of greed and brutality and sordid materialism. Instead of sweeping to their fulfilment, the hopes of a hundred years ago have grown sluggish in their flight, their pinions wearied, their anticipated goal withdrawn into the dim, uncertain distance. When the youthful poets of today shall have grown to maturity, they will hardly say of this age what Wordsworth could say of the earlier one,

"Bliss was it in that dawn to be alive,  
But to be young was very heaven."

They will rather, if they have kept their idealism clean from the con-

tagion that now through so many insidious channels seems to pollute the springs of spiritual health, turn to the past more for chastening than for inspiration, determined that, as far as in them lies, its weaknesses and insensate follies shall not be those of the coming years.

And in this there is perhaps a gain. For the past is past, and there is no undoing it. The old Tent-Maker of Naishapur was impelled by this solemn consideration to one of his most impressive sayings:—

“The Moving Finger writes, and, having writ,  
Moves on : nor all your Piety nor Wit  
Shall lure it back to cancel half a Line,  
Nor all your Tears wash out a Word of it.”

But the future still remains to be shaped by man's resolution, and “the eternal years of God” belong to truth and righteousness. He who holds fast to this belief has indeed “the faith that makes faithful,” and for him the spectres of the dead ages can possess no terrors. The most effective worker for man's advancement is not he who blinks the evils that confront him in the actual world, and takes refuge in some fool's paradise of the imagination, but he who faces them with open eyes and undaunted courage. Evils there are always and everywhere; I have not hesitated to express the belief that they are crowding upon us here and now as if marshaled for one desperate and decisive

“Battle in the West,  
Where all of high and holy dies away.”

Yet I would fain that my closing word were one not of admonition, but of cheer, and that word may fitly be taken from the poet of the stout heart whose ringing summons has come to many a soul in the hour of need, and strengthened it for renewed endeavor. Robert Browning's last message to mankind teaches a lesson from which the poorest spirited may gain strength and courage. It would not be easy to find a more inspiring example for the conduct of life than is offered by the poet's description of himself as

“One who never turned his back but marched breast forward,  
Never doubted clouds would break,  
Never dreamed, though right were worsted, wrong would triumph,  
Held we fall to rise, are baffled to fight better,  
Sleep to wake.”



# ALEXANDER THE GREAT AND UNIVERSAL MONARCHY

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**A**MONG the mighty personalities, which, in a decisive fashion, have laid a disturbing hand upon the course of the world's history, extending their influence down through the centuries, there is scarcely one whose individuality and purposes may be so variously estimated as those of the Macedonian Conqueror, Alexander the Great. The uncompromisingly severe judgment concerning Alexander which has been entertained by men like Niebuhr and Grote, moved by an enthusiasm for ancient Hellas and her champion, Demosthenes, by slow degrees has been silenced. Our conception of Grecian history has been completely changed. It is universally conceded that the power of the Greek mind, when left to itself, never again could attain even a tolerable condition or solve the great problems which were pressing upon the nation for solution; that, above all, at Athens the most wretched conditions prevailed, in unmitigated opposition to the city's aspirations, and, finally, that the policy of Demosthenes, even though the Macedonians had not come off victorious, could never have reached a positive result.

Yet a broader and more penetrating analysis of the sources of information has taught that the stratum of tradition, upon which the former criticism of Alexander was, in the main, supported, is for a historical judgment absolutely unserviceable. During the lifetime of Alexander a tendency to popularize had set in, of which Callisthenes was the prophet, and, masquerading under the veil of rhetorical effect, it sought solely to glorify Alexander and to exalt him to the superhuman. Thus the account is full of wonderful occurrences, strange omens, and manifestations from heaven, all of which herald in advance important verdicts. In their eyes Alexander is the champion of the Greeks, the avenger of the injury inflicted upon them by the Persians; the inspired self-assurance which he showed as often as he appeared upon the stage of action, and the gay war spirit with which he went into battle and put his life in jeopardy, without once losing the clear glance toward the course of the attainable, all proved it to them. To him is ascribed the reckless boldness of a Homeric hero, who, in blind reliance on fortune and his own superhuman might, sets forth to storm the world, and be it through the divine

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ordinance, or, as men of later times aver, through the caprice of fortune, meets success.

By such means, then, it was intended to glorify Alexander. From this inclination also sprang the familiar account that Alexander, in imitation of Achilles, had bound Batis, the captive commander of Gaza, alive, to his chariot and had dragged him about until dead in punishment for a murder which he had treacherously committed. Thus arose the story that, because of the impiety committed by their ancestors, he had ordered the massacre in Sogdiana of the Branchidæ who were the descendants of the priests of Apollo Didymæus in Miletus, and who, after betraying their temple and its treasures to Xerxes, had been removed by the Persians and colonized in the East. In their older versions, these accounts were intended to be unqualified exaltations of Alexander, and were free of all suggestion of hostility, yet, as commonly happens, they were followed by a reaction in later times. It is not easy to comprehend how such new and absurd inventions could have been regarded as true. In course of time these accounts, like all conceptions void of truth and lacking in historical background, were doomed to meet reaction and to become just so many impeachments of Alexander. When the sentimental and tender, though utterly false views of human life and history, which dominated the Roman world under the Empire, had become prevalent,<sup>1</sup> Alexander was transformed into an unscrupulous adventurer, whose success we must ascribe to good fortune rather than to peculiar merit; he was looked upon as a brutal and capricious despot, that evermore degenerated, sinking into a childish self-deification, into a vagrant superstition,<sup>2</sup> and finally became a sot.

That every such conception of Alexander is wholly untenable, must be clear to every one, who with unprejudiced spirit, reflects upon his valiant deeds. The infallible certainty with which all his operations were planned, the clear insight into possibilities and the demands of circumstances which with all boldness he constantly guarded, the strictly methodical arrangement of campaigns, from which he never on any ground allowed himself to be allured, may be taken as proofs that he was no adventurer, but rather a general and statesman of genius. That in open conflict on the field of battle he would come off victorious over every enemy, he was fully convinced, and well he may have been. But it was

(1) See Trogus Pompeius and Curtius Rufus, on Alexander.

(2) The charge of superstition sprang solely from the prognostications which, according to the demands of historical composition prevailing at that time, as well as of all naïve description, must herald Alexander's approaching death, and which he in vain sought to evade. That all these accounts are free inventions, coming in part from use of legendary history, may by individual cases easily be proven.



far more difficult to overcome the superiority of his enemy at sea than to conquer the army of Persia; and during his time in Asia, to prevent an insurrection in Greece and to keep the Persian fleet from transferring the arena of conflict to that place.

After Alexander had intimidated Greece through penalties inflicted upon Thebes, and through finely calculated concessions, had won Athens over at least to neutrality and to a formal support of his undertakings, he then took possession of the sea. After several successful engagements at sea, voluntarily and without hesitation, he disbanded his fleet, that he might not expose it to defeat; after his brilliant victory at Issus he held fast to his plans, and did not turn himself toward the heart of the Persian kingdom until he held all the coast in his power; these great actions belong to the most magnificent chapters of war history of all time.

From the unfavorable critique of Grote to the brilliant picture which Droysen has drawn, there lies a broad field for very varied conceptions. The difficult problems which Alexander's history presents; his march to the temple of Jupiter-Ammon and the association of his birth with this diety; his break with Grecian and Macedonian traditions; the catastrophes of Philotas, Clitus, and Callisthenes; his demand for reverence and honor as a god;—all these are incidents which seem to throw dark shadows upon the personality of the Macedonian Hero. Tradition upon these points is so very dim! The facts themselves, however, stand firm despite the destructive criticism attempted by some modern scholars. We have, therefore, to discuss not merely the personality of the king, for inseparably connected with it is the question how his entire career is to be regarded, what he sought and what he attained. For, according as the judgment upon *these* matters is formed so also will vary the verdict concerning the position of Alexander and of this entire epoch in the world's history. We shall thus arrive more easily at a safely grounded conception, if we take for our starting point the investigation of the aims and achievements of Alexander. In this way only may the means which he employed be understood and criticized.

Concerning the aims of Alexander there is evidently a difference of opinion, but this should influence no one. For here not only tradition but the facts themselves speak with no equivocation. After Alexander had grasped the reins of government with firm hand, turned his back upon Thrace and Illyria, and put down the rebellion in Greece, he began war with Persia in the spring of 334 B. C. At that time he combined in himself the titles of Duke of Thessaly and Hereditary King of Macedonia, to which was now added that of General of the Hellenic League. This confederacy had since 337 B. C. embraced all of Greece south of

Thermopylæ, with the exception of Sparta, and its ruling purpose had been a national war against the realm of Asia, which, since the close of the Peloponnesian War and the peace of 386 B. C., had rested like a nightmare upon the Grecian world. Alexander was chosen general of the armies selected to wage such a war. With his position as king corresponded the regulations which he adopted after his first triumphs. Everywhere, even to remote Cilicia, Grecian towns were made free and recognized as independent communities with their own rights; the despotisms which had been established by the Persians were overthrown, the cities were given over to punishment, and the Greek form of democratic government was established. No tribute was paid by these cities, but, as free members of a confederacy, like the Greeks of the motherland, they became members of the new Macedonian realm.<sup>1</sup> For the Asiatics, on the contrary, the order of things remained essentially the same as under the Persian government, except that in place of Persian satraps, Macedonian governors and commanders were introduced. To the Lydians, the tribe which for ages had been bound to the Greeks by the closest natural ties, home rule was restored, that is, in place of the arbitrary rule of the Persian officers, the old provincial law of the time of the kings was put in force.<sup>2</sup>

Thus Alexander acted in full harmony with the teachings of Aristotle, which the latter had developed in a work composed in his popular style as a guide for practical politics, and sent to Alexander; in this work he had maintained theoretically as a state doctrine, that Alexander must stand forth as a leader (*ἡγεμών*) for the Greeks (among whom, in this case, the Macedonians are to be counted); as lord (*δεσπότης*) to the Asiatics; to regard the former as friends and relatives, to manipulate and turn to advantage the latter like plants and animals. Aristotle represented, indeed, with full conviction the opinion formulated by Euripides, that by a law of nature the Greeks had been called to exercise dominion over the barbarians; that the former alone could maintain a state constitution, while the latter (or at least the peoples of Asia) were by nature created for slavery. Full of enthusiasm the Grecian world, in all quarters, where it was not, as in Athens, fettered by a shallow partizanship, exulted in the fulfilment of the national aspirations. Isocrates throughout his life had advocated this national programme, whose realization he had seen approaching, as he, a man of ninety-eight years, shortly after the triumph at

(1) I regard it as most probable that all the Greek communities of Asia were taken up in the Hellenic League.

(2) Arrian I., 17, 4.



Chæroneia, closed his eyes in death. In this view concurred Callisthenes, a near relative of Aristotle, and who, as the most highly esteemed historian of his times, attended the king upon his campaigns and recorded his achievements. His books contained the first comprehensive reports which reached home, concerning the triumphs in Asia. In his earlier works he had pictured the misery of the times since the peace of Antalcidas; now he could behold with his own eyes and report how the fondest hopes had been realized and even surpassed. He has represented the Macedonian king as champion of the Hellenes, visibly protected by the gods of Greece. It is significant that, in his descriptions of battles, he reported the deeds of the Thessalian cavalry in a spirit of partiality, for they were regularly constituted the reserve wing of the army, whose duty it was to hold the enemy in check until Alexander with the right wing had achieved the victory.<sup>1</sup>

Alexander, however much he felt himself to be the king of Macedon, held that he was the offspring of Zeus.<sup>2</sup> Indeed he claimed to be the descendant of Perseus, of Heracles, or of Achilles. At the same time, thanks to his training under Aristotle he could point to the full measure of Grecian culture, through which, and by the strength of his people, he felt that he was called to conquer the world. With full enthusiasm he had taken up Homer into himself; as for Achilles, so for himself, he hoped the singer would arise who should secure eternal fame for his achievements. Isocrates, too, had pictured it as the highest goal of Greek aspiration to conquer Asia Minor as far as the Halys River, that the nation might secure the broad stretch of land for colonization, sufficient to make room for her largely increased population, and thus yield prosperity to those who hitherto had been wasted in continuous wars, as robbers had been compelled to seek a precarious subsistence. After the battle of Issus, the whole of western Asia as far as the river Euphrates lay at the feet of the conqueror, and the Persian king himself offered to cede the entire district in case Alexander would make peace. Thus was a decision weighty in its consequences set before the king.

The region thus conquered came readily under the sway of the home government and was controlled by the same principles as had hitherto

(1) Wherever in the reports which were made the Thessalians were especially extolled, we may discover the influence of Callisthenes.

(2) See Plutarch's *Life of Alexander*, 37, where from Callisthenes it is reported that Alexander, before the battle of Arbela, exhorted the Thessalians and the remaining Greeks to call upon the gods saying that if he were really the offspring of Zeus, they ought to stand by the Hellenes and help them on to victory. Thus the Macedonian king steps for the time quite into the background.

prevailed. Parmenio advised the acceptance of this offer of the Persian king and there is little doubt that even Philip would have been content with this domain, had he pushed his conquests so far.

Alexander, however, was created of different material than his father. For him there was no holding back, but only a pressing forward from victory to victory. Hellenic culture felt its full superiority over all the peoples of the earth. How could Alexander, by birth and education the champion of the Grecian world, and called to carry out what she, torn by internal dissension, hitherto had been unable to effect, remain content with but a portion when he could have the whole?<sup>1</sup> The impulse toward the unfathomed, which clings to all aspiring culture, and is ever conscious of its own full vitality, displayed itself in Alexander. The anecdotes, which reveal this disposition even in the boy and mark the contrast between the world storming youth at the beginning of his heroic career, and the world scorning wise man, Diogenes, may in particulars be never so untrustworthy, but yet they reflect the personality and the aims of the man far more correctly than modern critics are willing to allow, who, because of the trees, cannot see the forest.

The conquest of the Persian Empire to its farthest bounds, was only the first part of the task which Alexander had set for himself. The further plan of pushing across the Jaxartes and of subduing the northern portion of the earth, and of sending at the same time a Macedonian general across the Danube against the Scythians of Pontus, were never carried out.<sup>2</sup>

Alexander directed his march toward India. But, when attempting to proceed by way of the Punjab across the steppes to the Ganges, in order to reach the ocean and the eastern limits of the earth, which were not thought to be far away, he found that the instrument which he had been able hitherto to bear with him, the Macedonian army, failed him and at the Hyphasis River he was compelled to turn back.

(1) The same thoughts Isocrates already had held before Philip, only that he, as already remarked, had set narrow limits which did not bind Alexander, and that Philip, the founder of the Macedonian monarchy, could not regard himself so thoroughly a Greek as could Alexander.

(2) It was the same scheme as that which underlay the expedition of Darius against the Scythians. At the same time it is to be noticed that the geographical representations of those days brought the country of Central Asia very much too near Europe and the Black Sea. The Macedonians considered that the Caucasus lay in the Hindu Kush, and the upper course of the Don in the Jaxartes. The discoveries of Alexander and his successors revealed the greater extent of this region, and also led to the contrary notion that, in the north, Europe and Asia were entirely separated, and that the Caspian Sea was a bay of the ocean.



After the return from India in the year 328 B. C., Alexander found himself confronted with tasks in abundance ; he must restore order in the provinces of his realm after an absence of nearly six years, and bring about the complete establishment of internal harmony ; he must subdue the rebellious mountain peoples ; open up the Caspian Sea and Indian Ocean ; explore and circumnavigate Arabia ; restore the system of canals in Babylonian territory ; all this he had undertaken, and when the fatal sickness seized him he was just starting for Arabia with his army and fleet. There can be no doubt but that these works were of subordinate importance to him and only supplemented and rounded out that which had already been achieved, not the task of the future (if he, too, like every genuine natural ruler, never disparaged the less in comparison with the greater, but met every task which was set before him, with equal energy and assurance). If Cæsar, in the midst of his fifties, after he had subdued and reorganized the civilized world along the shores of the Mediterranean, was at the time when the dagger of his murderer smote him, on the point of starting out to subdue the regions of the Danube and the Parthians, thus to complete his universal dominion and to solve the great problems of culture which were set for Rome as an inheritance from Greece, so much the less could the king of Macedon in his thirty-second year regard his day's work ended and devote the remainder of his life to ease and the peaceful up-building of his kingdom. In the West the task set for Grecian power, to say the least, had been as great as in the East : after the lapse of one hundred years following the Sicilian expedition of Alcibiades Greece had striven in vain to muster the full strength of the western half of the nation, where her deadly foes, the Carthaginians and the tribes of Italy, had secured one advantage after another ; Alexander's brother-in-law, Alexander, King of Epirus, had just been discouraged in his hope to found a kingdom for himself in Italy ; thus it was imperative that the Macedonian king should carry his victorious arms toward the West against Carthage and the Africans, as well as against Italy, and that he should subdue, as he had the kingdom of Persia, the entire Mediterranean country as far as the Pillars of Hercules. The plans for this campaign toward the West were found among the papers of the deceased sovereign.<sup>1</sup>

(1) These plans had been laid before the assembled army by Perdiccas and had been vetoed (see Diodorus xvii., 4). The reliability of this statement has of late with great injustice been questioned, although Diodorus took it directly from Hieronymus of Cardia. That Ptolemæus and Aristobulus had related nothing concerning the plans of Alexander, and that Arrian (vii., 1) could therefore have made his report of them only from other sources, is easy enough to understand ; but naturally nothing at all against their credibility is thereby proved.

Furthermore, a plan was found for the creation of a strong Mediterranean fleet for the war against Carthage and the peoples of the West, and another for a great highway along the northern coast of Africa to the Strait of Gibraltar. The cities and peoples of the West expected the fulfilment of these plans. Their embassies in throngs poured into Babylon during the last year of Alexander's life, to learn his intentions and to discuss them with him. Only when the West had been subdued was the empire of the world complete. No one may overlook the fact that Alexander was taken off while in the prime of life, just as he had completed one half of his mission. Only when this is constantly kept in view, can a correct judgment concerning him be secured. But for the task which he had set for himself, the foundation upon which he had hitherto relied did not suffice. The realm of Persia allowed itself to be overrun and conquered by the Macedonian army, but in the same way the world could not be subjugated. This was clearly shown by the enforced return at the Hyphasis. If Alexander wished to attain his purpose, he must increase his source of strength, and secure for himself a larger and more independent basis, such as Macedonia and Greece afforded him. But from within, his position was embarrassed for the same reason; the king of the world must still be king of the Macedonian armies and, at the same time, the leader of a coalition of Grecian republican cities. These peoples could, indeed, still occupy the first place in his world empire, but no longer in a despotism. In correspondence with the one kingdom and one sovereign, the totality of the subjects grew into a unity, and the distinction in their positions as compared with the ruler must disappear. By this world empire national distinctions were removed. No longer could there exist Greeks and barbarians in sharp contrast to rulers and subjects, but all the forces of the realm must be assimilated and all peoples ascend into the one Hellenic civilization. Nor was it merely the ideals of Aristotle that Alexander could carry out, but the thought expressed by Isocrates fifty years before in his "Panegyricus" (par. 50) that, "thanks to the Philosophy of the Greeks, no longer birth but intellect designates distinction, and they are called Greeks, who share in our education, rather than those who by nature belong to the Greeks."

That Alexander was fully aware of the consequences of his decision, when he rejected Darius' terms of peace, is shown by his subsequent conduct. Methodically and step by step, from that time on, he abandoned the old positions, and prepared for the turning point. Not until after his return from India did he consider that he had accomplished his purpose and was in a position to carry through his final measures.

Since the victory at Issus, which he looked upon as a judgment of



God, he regarded himself, just as he had replied in his answer to Darius, as "the rightful king of Asia."<sup>1</sup> After the death of Darius he stepped forward as his heir and avenger, put on the robe of the Persian king, introduced the ceremonial of the Persian court, and doomed Bessus to the barbarian punishment, which, according to Persian tradition, was meted out to those who were guilty of high treason. At the same time he dismissed the troops which the Greek states had placed at his disposal. The national war between the Persians and the Greeks was at an end. To this accomplishment he had already a short time before given symbolical expression by throwing a lighted firebrand into the midst of the cedar timbers of the palace at Persepolis, and by extinguishing the fire, as soon as it had broken out. In the new world empire the Persians, who had hitherto been in power, were to occupy a position of equal importance with the conquerors. From the time when Alexander had crossed the Euphrates, with very few exceptions, only Persians had been made prefects, and for the enlargement of his army, after the occupation of Persepolis in 330 B. C., he had given orders that thirty thousand young Persians should be levied, and in Macedonian fashion educated as an example for posterity (*ἐπίγονοι*). The recruits which, as auxiliaries, Macedonia was still to furnish did not suffice for the new empire. From the strong peoples of Eastern Iran troops were levied.

When Alexander had returned from India, he dismissed his veteran soldiers and took into his army in their place the so-called Persian Epigones. This recruiting accompanied the famous wedding festival in Susa, the marriage of more than ten thousand Macedonians (among whom were all the higher officers) with Persian women, in order that thus a complete union of the nobility of both nations might be effected. Further plans for uniting these peoples, by removing Europeans to Asia and Asiatics to Europe, were found among his papers left behind.

In these measures of Alexander there crops out a naïve belief in the possibility of remodeling the world and its people by education and laws, and thus uniting them. This belief was the inheritance of Grecian development, particularly of the Socratic school, and laid a one-sided emphasis upon the dominant position of the intellect, by the side of which, if it be rightly guided, no other faculty of man could have influence. "Give righteous laws; in this all has been said," such is the advice with which Plato in the midst of the confusion that prevailed after the murder of Dion, sought to help the people of Syracuse.

The spectacular manner in which Alexander sought to carry out his ideas, as in the burning of the palace at Persepolis, corresponded with the

(1) Arrian ii., 15. This letter to Darius is entirely authentic.

course of events and the necessities of the time. It shows clearly his belief that a sovereign could associate with men and mould them according to his notions. On the part of the Asiatics, Alexander had no grounds for apprehending trouble, but it was otherwise with the Macedonians and Greeks. To be able to incorporate them in his empire, Alexander needed other rights than custom or the contracts could afford him upon which to found securely his position. To secure these he had undertaken the journey from Egypt to the Temple of Ammon. Concerning the motives of his march to the Ammonium the most varying hypotheses have been proposed. Widely spread at present is the opinion that Alexander thereby sought to influence the minds of the Asiatics, or, in particular, the Egyptians, as though the Ammonium were of the slightest consequence anywhere in the Orient, and as if Alexander had not in every Egyptian temple been greeted as son of the god. If that were all he desired, he could well have saved himself both time and trouble. His march to the Ammonium was, first of all, renowned only in the Grecian world. The oracular seat in the desert and its god first became known through Cyrene, and from the sixth century its reputation constantly increased, just in proportion as the oracles at home, partly because of their amalgamation with their political antitheses, partly through the increasing enlightenment, were losing credit. For this reason, also, Lysander had sought to carry out his plans of subjugation through the help of Ammon. At Athens even in the time of Aristophanes Ammon was in high repute, and when, in the year 346 B. C., Delphi came into the power of Philip, the state turned with preference to the desert god.

Alexander purposely surrounded his march to the shrine of Ammon with a veil of secrecy. The revelation which the god made (thus he writes his mother), he would, on his return home, communicate to no human being other than herself. We still possess the version of the journey which Callisthenes, the obsequious historiograph of the king, gave and which all later writers with slight modifications, repeat: "Two ravens showed the king his way through the desert; the gods sent a shower of rain just as the army had well-nigh fainted from thirst. Alexander alone entered the sanctuary, but what the god said to him, no man has ever learned. Only this has been heard by every one, that the foremost prophet of the god greeted Alexander as the son of Zeus."

This is undoubtedly correct. Thus every Egyptian priest addressed the king. It is of importance that this occurrence is not reported from Heliopolis, Memphis, or Sais (although precisely the same thing took place there, when Alexander entered the temple), but only from Ammo-



nium, because this alone had significance for the Greeks,—the other cults none. As soon as the messengers from Miletus arrived, they proclaimed that the oracle of Branchidæ had made the same revelation, and also the Sibyl of Erythræ. Since that time the rumor was spread abroad that Alexander was not the son of Philip, but that Olympias had conceived him from Ammon, who had approached her in the form of a serpent.

However little Alexander believed in his divine origin, he assisted in every way the promulgation of the belief. Yet generation by a god is only a preliminary to the exaltation to god-head. There is a widespread notion that the belief in the divine right of kings was of Oriental origin, but this does not at all harmonize with the facts. Only in Egypt is the king a god on earth; on the contrary, to no one of the great Asiatic rulers, and least of all to the kings of Persia, did it ever occur to claim for themselves divine honors.<sup>1</sup>

The Greeks affirmed that the servile fashion in which the Orientals greeted those in exalted positions, and, above all, the king, by throwing themselves upon the ground and kissing the dust, was, according to their views, in the presence of men inadmissible, and only permitted before a god. But in this they really gave their own peculiar views alone, not those of the Orientals in general. The exaltation of an absolute ruler to deity was indigenous to Grecian soil, and outwardly was rendered possible because from the Grecian point of view, the limits between gods and men were ever changeable. Demons, sons of gods, heroes,—all these did antiquity recognize, and their number was constantly increasing in the clear light of history. Whoever had established a new Greek community and thoroughly organized it, received almost heroic honors.

This was true not only of the *œcists* ("founders") of colonies, but just as much, for example, of Euphron, the founder of democracy in Sicily, who was killed by the Thebans in 366 B. C., and who at his own home received heroic honors as the *œcist*.<sup>2</sup> Timoleon in Syracuse received like honors. So, too, Sophocles lived in cult as the hero *Dexion*, because he had prepared at Athens a shrine for the god, *Æsculapius*. In the domain of the Olympian gods there was a way, which formerly Hercules, Dionysus, the Dioscuri, and many others, had found. According to the views of an enlightened age these were only mortals,

(1) An exception is afforded by a number of Babylonian rulers of three thousand years B. C., among whom tendencies toward deification after the manner of the Pharaohs are found.

(2) Xenophon, *Hell.*, vii., 3, 12.

who for their deeds of valor were honored as gods by a grateful posterity. What *they* had attained, appeared not unattainable to mighty personalities of the present.

Thus we see that Lysander, when in the full possession of power, organized anew the Grecian world, was honored as a god by the aristocrats of the Ionian land, into whose possession he had restored both home and government. Especially at Somus were altars erected to him, a festival of the gods established, and pæons composed in his honor.

After Philip had won the suzerainty of Greece, on the occasion of his daughter's marriage, at which the dagger of the assassin smote him, he caused his own picture to be added to those of the twelve gods. Again Clearchus, the tyrant of Heracles (363-352 B. C.), also a pupil of Isocrates, demanded of his subjects the honors of a god.

Moreover, the theory of state, however strongly the despot and his force rejected it as immoral, led on to notions of this kind. The ideal of a republic, as it had been most logically realized by the radical democracy at Athens, proclaimed the sovereignty of existing laws and the unconditional subjection of every one to them. Theory could not accept this principle and recognize as binding laws which had been as little tested as any other human conception. The noblest service of the true statesman is, indeed, that of the law-maker. Socrates desired, by means of his ethical philosophical instruction to educate citizens, who hitherto had been under control of impulse, into true statesmen and kingly subjects. From this Plato draws the conclusion that the perfect statesman, the truly wise man, stands over the laws and, unbiased, following his own knowledge alone, must hold sway in the state. Only through the assistance of absolute power did he think it possible to organize his ideal state. As is well known, he made two attempts in Sicily,—first, through the instrumentality of the younger Dionysius, and then through Dion.

So, too, Aristotle accepted these ideas. In his "Politica" he says: "When in a state a man so far surpasses all others that the virtue and political ability of all the rest together cannot be compared with his, the republican order of government control and subordination to law no longer binds him, but there remains nothing other than to obey him and to raise him to sovereignty, in no limited and constitutional fashion, but absolutely. Such a man is like a god among men. For him there is no law because he is himself the law. To subordinate him to the rule of another were as absurd as to demand the same of Zeus. There remains, then, nothing else than that all should willingly obey him. Thus these men are life-long kings in their states." This is the "full-kingship" (*παμβασιλεία*) which Aristotle distinguishes from all other kinds of



limited monarchy, as an approved form of constitution. Here we may see how very naturally this view sprang from the soil of Grecian theory, that "the true king, as a god, stands above his subjects, and his will is for them an inviolable law like the command of God."<sup>1</sup> To the victorious Macedonian king, his (Grecian) adherents were very ready to accord this position as long as they saw in him the fulfilment of the Hellenic ideal. "The sea shrank from him, as if that element itself recognized its lord and was anxious to adore him by its bendings (that is, to perform the 'proskynesis,' prostration)." So wrote Callisthenes concerning his passage along the sea at Climax Rock in Lycia.

We have already seen that it was really Callisthenes who spread the report that Alexander was sprung from Ammon, and who confirmed this view by further observations. Thus he represents Alexander before the decisive battle at Arbela as praying for a victory for the Grecian arms "so surely as he was indeed the son of Zeus." These representations, Alexander had called into existence and promoted, but he thought of applying them in a far different sense than Callisthenes and the Socialists expected. They were to serve him not so much in the realization of the ideal state among the Greeks, as for the establishment of the empire of an absolute ruler, for the setting aside of the ordinances which until now had checked his purposes. As soon as this interpretation was brought to general notice, the hitherto enthusiastic sentiment must needs have changed. The most serious conflicts with his nearest environment awaited him.

It is not our task to set forth the particulars in the course of these catastrophes. That Philotas, the commander of the cavalry, made no confession of the plot with which he was charged, but preferred to let destiny take its course; that his fall drew after it the removal of his father, Parmenio, the chief representative of the time of Philip, who had long been discontented with the pretence of Alexander; that Clitus, Philotas' successor in office, embittered by an accidental cause, hurled the complaints of the Macedonians into the face of the king, and so exasperated him that he struck him down; that in the veteran army, when Alexander had dismissed it, the tumult grew to open revolt; all this is easily comprehensible. A fact of greater importance, historically, was his quarrel with Callisthenes. Even to the last had the latter kept faith with the king's ideals, and, in his description of the battle of Arbela, had raised

(1) As is well known, even Aristotle himself, in a celebrated poem, put his friend Hermias, tyrant of Atarneus, on a plane with the heroes, because throughout his life he was in quest of virtue and in this quest met his death. To Plato, also, he erected an altar. See Wilamowitz, *Aristotle in Athens*, vol. ii., 412, ff.

severe charges against Parmenio, to the effect that, out of envy for Alexander, he had intentionally been guilty of cowardly behavior,—a clear proof that he had favored the removal of Parmenio, which took place one year later, and had sought to justify the same.<sup>1</sup>

But when Alexander in 328 B. C. laid a demand upon Macedonians and Greeks alike that they, after the Persian style, should prostrate themselves before him, then came the breach. From the Greek standpoint this was really a claim for recognition as a god. This had no free Greek ever hitherto accorded to a man, not even to the Persian king, and even Callisthenes could not do this without bringing a stigma upon himself. The Macedonian generals on the occasion of a banquet had carried out the wish of the king, but Callisthenes withdrew from the ceremony. When this was known, he became the leader of the opposition, and Alexander, availing himself of a conspiracy of pages,<sup>2</sup> arrested as an accomplice this Greek who had formerly been his warmest admirer. He was tried and condemned before the Federal Assembly of the Greeks, and during the campaign in India died in prison. That these events had as their result the complete estrangement between Alexander and Aristotle, has been repeatedly attested.

With the ideals of the old Greeks, then, Alexander had finally broken, by turning against them the ideas which had sprung up on their soil. After his return from India in 324 B. C., Alexander took the last step. He then laid upon the Greek states the demand that they should make official recognition of him as a god in their everyday life.<sup>3</sup> His command no one dared oppose. All the states made haste to fulfil his wishes, even Athens (at the suggestion of Demosthenes and Demades) and Sparta as well.<sup>4</sup> Thus the Greek republics became incorporated not, indeed, with the kingdom of Macedonia, but rather with the

(1) It is capable of proof that the description of the battle of Arbela, at the earliest, was written about the time of Parmenio's death.

(2) Whether Callisthenes had known anything concerning the conspiracy, is naturally not for us to decide; but it is very unlikely, and, furthermore, those who were guilty, when examined under torture, in no way implicated him.

(3) The king corresponds to a god in having his friend Hephæstion, after his death (through the influence of an oracle of Ammon), raised to the rank of a hero. But really this was nothing more than what Aristotle had done for Hermias, only transferred from the sphere of private life into that of a ruler.

(4) Shortly before his death ambassadors came to Babylon to lay before him the resolutions that had been passed touching the question.



empire. Whatever Alexander commanded was henceforth law to them, not because he was king, but because he was god.<sup>1</sup>

That Alexander adopted his measures from the standpoint of a god, had already been proved, when, during the Olympic Festival of 324, he caused an order to be promulgated, whereby all exiles (and there were myriads of them in the Greek world) should be welcomed back home again. This command was in direct conflict with fundamental principles of the Hellenic League which had been established by Philip; but only in this way could the springs of perpetual discord in Greece be dried up, and a lasting peace and prosperity be secured. Only by the incorporation of Greece in the empire could she become a sharer of its benefits. The will of the monarch prevailed over the republics and their laws, but the form, in which alone his command could be binding and inviolable, was that (as Aristotle has formulated it) he stood above all men, inasmuch as he so far surpassed all the rest of mankind together in virtue and ability, that he could not be measured by the same standard; that he could not be inferior to the laws, because he was himself the law.

Such is the genesis of the absolute monarchy of the civilized state, which, in its full development, stretches out its authority over the circumscribed city-states in the Grecian world. The divinity of the ruler belongs to its very essence. This divinity has stood fast despite all reactionary movements. Recurrently, whenever the historical development within the civilization of antiquity or of modern times has led to absolute monarchy, only *slightly* modified by Christianity, then into

(1) In *The English Historical Review*, 1887, p. 317, ff., in an article entitled *The Deification of Alexander the Great*, Hogarth has sought to prove that Alexander himself never desired to be raised to a god; that the according to him of immortal honors by the Greeks was "a spontaneous outburst of adulation from various cities." Niese and other German savants agree with him upon this point, while Kärst (in several works, and, finally, in his *History of the Hellenic Age*, vol. i., 1901), as Droysen before him, represents, in my opinion, the only correct standpoint. Hogarth is driven not only to weaken or falsify our proofs, but also to make us believe that even Demosthenes belonged to the flatterers of Alexander, when he advised the Athenians to recognize the king as son of Zeus, and, "so far as I am concerned, also of Poseidon, if he so desires," and to accord him all honor (*Hyperides vs. Demosthenes*, p. 31; *Dinarchus vs. Demosthenes*, p. 94). This is at once authentic proof that Alexander had demanded these honors.

In the same way Hogarth describes the "prostration" (*proskynesis*) as an entirely harmless regulation "by which nothing was intended except the assimilation of the habit of two peoples before the king." Equally unimportant is the question why Alexander made his journey to the Temple of Ammon, "We need not ask what brought Alexander to Ammon." But the historical problems involved are not so easily disposed of that one may close his eyes to them.

the place of the king who is god, steps the king by God's grace.

Yet the empire of Alexander, like that of Cæsar, never arrived at perfection. In both cases the death of the men, who alone could have carried them through, produced the most stupendous consequences. The final result in both cases was that the attempt to unite the whole known world, the "Oikumene" of the ancients, into a unity had to be given up, and that the boundaries which Darius had offered Alexander, namely, the line of the Euphrates, afterward became the limits of Hellenism and of western civilization.



# THE CONSCIOUSNESS OF ANIMALS

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FOR some years a grave question has divided biologists. It is by no means a new question. It even occupied the philosophers of ancient Greece and frequently served as a theme for the disputations of the Middle Ages. The question is whether animals are to be regarded as conscious beings or merely as automata.

This problem long since called forth the most contradictory answers, oscillating between the two opposite poles of the most arrogant anthropocentrism and the most naïve anthropomorphism. While the scholastic theologians regarded animals as inferior and accursed beings, the writers who succeeded them, obedient to that instinctive reaction against mediævalism which characterized the epoch of the Renaissance, sought their rehabilitation. Thus Montaigne extolled the intelligence of animals and in the same spirit Canon Rorarius wrote a book to prove that they make better use of reason than does man, "*Quod animalia bruta saepe ratione utantur melius homine.*" But a new oscillation was destined to swing the solution of the problem back to the opposite side. It was Descartes, as we know, who gave this master stroke by bringing to the discussion far more impressive arguments than had been adduced up to that time. "*L'animal-machine*" is without doubt the point of the Cartesian doctrine which became the object of the most animated controversy, and that not only among the savants of the period but also in the salons. Showing little mercy toward animal life, this doctrine elicited the protestations of La Fontaine, Mme. de Sévigné, and later of Voltaire, who borrowed their arguments, it must be admitted, more from sentiment than from reason. Then, as it gradually came to be recognized that no certain solution of the problem could be reached, interest was completely withdrawn from the matter.

It will be wondered, then, that such a dispute should again be the order of the day, now no longer among metaphysicians, but among the biologists who are most insistent upon the procedure and methods of contemporary science. How has this question been revived? What interest can it have for science? Of what nature are the arguments employed on both sides? This is what we propose briefly to examine.

Some thirty years ago when the attempt was made to popularize the

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Darwinian theories and to show that man is but a perfected ape, it was thought good tactics, out of regard for people's susceptibilities, to attribute to animals all sorts of human faculties to the end of bringing them nearer to the "king of creation." Thus animals were dignified without lowering man, and the gulf which separated them was the better filled in. Herein it seems is the cause of the prodigality with which savants like Büchner, Carl Vogt, Romanes, Darwin himself, and many others were led to ascribe to the lower animals faculties indicative of the greatest cleverness. Today, when the doctrine of evolution is accepted by all and there is no more need of resorting to such an artful means of procuring adherents, animals have to be assigned to their proper place by being brought down several degrees on the scale of intelligence up which they had been somewhat injudiciously forced.

Several contemporary physiologists have taken it upon themselves thus to set them back, and it must be confessed they have not gone about it half-heartedly; they are in the way of simply reducing animals,—the lower animals at least,—to the rôle of modest machines, functioning in the silence and obscurity of unconsciousness.

One of the savants most noted for his efforts in this direction is Professor Loeb, of the University of California. This biologist has published within recent years<sup>1</sup> a large number of experiments upon starfish, medusæ, worms, and insects, from which he concludes that so-called instinctive acts are nothing more than the mechanical effects of such general forces as light, gravity, etc., which act in a common manner upon both plants and animals. When the moth darts toward the flame, when the starfish, turned upon its back, makes most energetic efforts to recover its natural position, when the mollusk withdraws into its shell at the approach of danger, it is not necessary to speak of the love of light, or the discomfort of being turned upside down, nor yet of any feeling of fear or ruse of a coward: all is explained by heliotropism, stereotropism, geotropism. No more than a house plant which turns its stem toward the window is suspected of curiosity for what goes on in the street, need the insect which avoids the dark be supposed to have a "predilection" for daylight. In a word, we have to give up invoking as a trait of an animal any activity which bears the slightest resemblance to volition. Such a creature is only a puppet of natural forces; all its acts are but tropisms, that is to say, blind and necessary reactions of protoplasm under

(1) *Einleitung in die vergleichenden Gehirnphysiologie*, Leipzig, 1899, revised and republished in English as *Comparative Physiology of the Brain and Comparative Psychology*, New York, 1902, and several memoirs in Pflüger's *Archiv für Physiologie*.



the influence of its surrounding medium. Another investigator, Norman,<sup>1</sup> equally denies conscious sensibility to the lower animals upon the basis of the following experiment. He cut an earthworm in two and noticed that only the posterior fragment of the animal is subject to contortion; it contracts and squirms, while the anterior portion continues to crawl undisturbedly forward. Now it would be absurd, he thinks, to suppose that the posterior part of the body is alone sensible of pain; we cannot, therefore, infer from the movements of this organism that it has sensations of pain.

A German physiologist, Bethe,<sup>2</sup> has also found himself under the necessity of attacking the problem of consciousness in animals, the solution of which he deems indispensable for any one wishing to form an idea of the exact nature of the activity of living beings. Edinger, the learned anatomist of Frankfort, having undertaken a study of the nerve centres for memory in fishes, felt obliged, also, to take into account the question as to whether these animals are conscious or not, and he inclines toward the negative, regretting that we have no touchstone enabling us to disclose this marvelous property among those animals endowed with it. Still other biologists are of a similar persuasion.

Have we here a reversion to Cartesianism? Do the authors we have just cited regard animals as machines? If such were the case, we could but acquiesce; it would be their right as physiologists and neurologists to try to explain all animal functions solely as the activity of nervous matter. But such is not the case. The efforts which these savants make to banish consciousness from the life of the lower animals indicate the measure of importance which they accord to this subjective reflexion, this internal event, as a factor in animal activity. Its importance appears, indeed, so great to them that they believe they ought to strive to determine the "objective criterion of consciousness," in order to mark the place in the animal scale where this new factor must be reckoned with. Could such a criterion possibly be established? And, if it could, would it serve any purpose? Would it help us ever so little to understand the mechanism of animal mentality? These are some of the questions we shall have to answer.

Fifteen years ago, in the course of a discussion on the psychic life of micro-organisms between M. Alf. Binet, the distinguished director of the

(1) *Dürfen wir aus den Reactionen niederer Thiere auf Schmerzempfindungen derselben schliessen?* in Pflüger's *Archiv*, vol. lxvii.

(2) *Archiv für mikroskop., Anatomie u. Entwicklungsgesch.*, vol. l., and Pflüger's *Archiv*, vol. lxviii.

laboratory at the Sorbonne, and M. Ch. Richet, the well known Parisian physiologist, the question of the criterion of consciousness had already been raised. While M. Richet maintained that "cellular psychology" rested purely and simply upon the laws of irritability, Binet declared that the vital manifestations of protozoa exceeded the too narrow limits within which his opponent wished to confine them. These animalcules, said M. Binet, have already given evidence of a "faculty of selection," which is a phenomenon of paramount importance and should be regarded as the criterion of psychic faculty. In short, each of these worthy savants was within his rôle: the physiologist in explaining the facts according to physiology, the psychologist in giving his account in psychological terms. They stood each on his own ground and the weapons which they handled so skilfully were not fitted to bring victory or defeat to either of the two adversaries, for they did not even meet. The discussion led to no result. It could lead to none. Besides, we have not gone quite to the bottom of the matter, and even the question of subjectivity has not been stated in all its clearness.

It is not, indeed, the same with those authors mentioned earlier, for whom the determination of the objective criterion of consciousness is, in Loeb's own words, "one of the most important questions of comparative psychology." What is the criterion, then, which they propose?

According to Loeb, consciousness is the function of a physiological process wholly determined by the "associative activity of memory"; that is to say, the process by virtue of which certain impressions and certain movements become united in such wise as to admit of their being reciprocally evoked thereafter. The criterion accepted by Edinger is identical with this, and Bethe's scarcely differs from it. These savants would conclude that an animal possesses "psychic qualities" when it knows how to accommodate itself to new conditions, when it is able to learn.<sup>1</sup> (Now these are only manifestations of associative experience.) By aid of their criterion the physiologists of this new school have drawn their line of demarcation near the level of the boundary which separates the vertebrates and invertebrates. The former would be psychic beings, the latter only automata. But this division is by no means absolute, and the steps of the psycho-biological classification are not to be confounded with those of the morphological classification. Thus, certain frogs and

(1) When we strike a dog, says Bethe, and it runs away, there is no need of assuming that it has *felt*; but when, several days after, it runs when it sees the stick again, we surely must admit that it has *felt* and that it has *seen*, else it could not have retained the *image* in memory.



certain fishes, vertebrates though they be, would still be plunged in the dark waters of unconsciousness.

As we look at it, this criterion pretends to a very great precision and is in this respect distinguished from those which have been proposed hitherto. Not long since M. Richet, of whom we have just spoken, professed to take "common sense" for his guide in this delicate question of the origin of consciousness. Though this quality may be, as Descartes believed, "of all things in the world the most generally distributed," it may be doubted whether it would permit us effectually to hit upon the solution of so exasperating an enigma. Rather may we judge of this from M. Richet's mode of reasoning.

"One pinches the paw of a dog and it cries out. Is this cry due to a simple reflex movement? Or is it at the same time conscious? The unmistakeable signs of pain which it gives by a very expressive pantomime lead me to suppose that it suffers. But after all, I might, like the Cartesians of Port Royal, suppose that we have here nothing more than a wound-up clock provided with a little mechanism which, when started, makes it cry and take on the appearance of suffering. Nevertheless, common sense,—a precious guide from which it will never do to depart,—indicates that the dog does suffer. Although from the point of view of scientific rigorism, pushed to the extreme of absurdity, it is impossible for me to affirm its suffering, I believe in it, for I see such an analogy between the behavior of the dog and that of men when they suffer that it would be impossible for me to deny to it pain, and, therefore, consciousness. But if from the dog we pass to the frog the difficulty immediately becomes real and serious. I can well believe that frogs suffer pain when we pin them to a plate of cork, but I am not absolutely convinced, or rather, I believe this pain to be so obscure, so vague, that to my mind the frog scarcely suffers at all and has no consciousness. If from the frog we pass to lower beings, to crustaceans, to annelids and other worms, to polyps, we are clearly obliged to deny to them a consciousness. With them sensation, as an affective phenomenon, may, perhaps, exist, but we have no warrant for assuming it. And so, in our uncertainty, we deny consciousness to the lower animals, accord to animals of medium rank in the zoölogical hierarchy an extremely vague and confused consciousness, which becomes clearer in the higher animals and finally quite distinct and developed in man."

There are probably many savants who, M. Richet to the contrary notwithstanding, and precisely on account of their faith in "common sense," refuse to limit the domain of subjective mentality half way down the zoölogical series. Why should ants and bees, whose habits are far

more complex than those of frogs, be only pure reflex machines without inner or subjective aspect? And is it not in the name of "common sense" that M. Binet has accorded a mind to his protozoa? We ought, then, to cease, in spite of what M. Richet says on the subject, to take "common sense" as a guide in our search for the cradle of consciousness.

Returning, then, to the declarations of the new school of biology, let us inquire whether associative activity is properly a criterion of the presence of mental life. Is the ability to learn, to associate, in a word, to profit by experience, an evidence of subjectivity? By no means. And in proof suffice it to show that there are simple, primitive acts, resulting from no experience, whether individual or hereditary, nor in the least dependent upon the operation of memory, which are clearly and distinctly conscious; that, on the other hand, certain acts evidently associative, which result undoubtedly from individual experience, are unconscious and remain unknown to us.

To illustrate this last point, I need but recall the astonishing mental activity of certain somnambules who unconsciously utilize, for the elaboration of their subliminal dreams, the divers fruits, gathered here and there, of their past individual experience.<sup>1</sup> When we learn to skate, to ride horseback, or to ride the bicycle, it is here undoubtedly a matter of acquired, individual experience, yet does this activity answer to any subjective process? Are we conscious of the coördinations of the muscles which come into play at the time of these various exercises, or of the manner in which we maintain our equilibrium?

On the other hand, do immediate, simple, primordial activities necessarily imply unconsciousness, as we have been assured? This is an old sophism which the English school of psychologists is responsible for having brought into fashion. Bain says somewhere that every fact of consciousness corresponds to a state of change, is constituted by a succession, an association of internal states, and the most authoritative psychologists have dogmatically repeated this assertion, which is not in the least degree evident. It is on the contrary wholly gratuitous. Consciousness is an immediate datum,—the datum par excellence,—which is self-sufficient and in no wise dependent upon memory, the latter being but a particular case of it. From the fact that when I walk along the street a great number of objects happen to strike my retina which do not

(1) See, for example, Flourney's excellent book, *Des Indes à la planète Mars*, Geneva and Paris, 1900, translated into English by D. B. Vermilye, *From India to the Planet Mars*, New York, 1900, and the *Nouvelles observations* upon the same medium, published in the *Archives de Psychologie*, vol. i., 2.



persist in my memory, can one conclude that at the moment they presented themselves to me they were not conscious?

When I look at the sky, have I not experienced an immediate, internal, simple, continuous event,—a sensation of blue,—or is there here any trace of associative activity?

And why should tropisms, simple though the mechanism be to which we may refer them, be unconscious? Because it serves no purpose to admit in them a subjective side to correspond! We shall see in just a moment that the same is true for the highest psychic acts. But since these physiologists of the new school set so much store by this subjective factor, it may not be useless to show that, even when we employ their own weapons, that is to say, their own mode of reasoning, we are forced to concede to the lowest organisms some glimmerings of consciousness.

Whether we consider, in fact, the lowest organisms or the highest animals, we note that their entire life of relation is founded upon association, from the physiological point of view. Objectively speaking, there is no difference of kind but one solely of degree between tropisms, reflexes, and voluntary acts. Although a tropism be the effect of an absolutely physico-chemical reaction, is not its special form, however, the result of selection, of the evolution of living beings, an evolution which has permitted the acquirement of the disposition (organic or chemical) which is the basis of this reaction? If sunlight, heat, or the perfume of resin exerts on the processionary caterpillar of the pine tree such an influence that it is determined to crawl to the extremity of the coniferous branches which will furnish it nourishment, have we not here a wholly brute physico-chemical action? The struggle for existence, heredity, chance itself,—have they not created in the very tissues themselves multiple anatomical and dynamic associations, which have acquired definiteness in the course of transmission from generation to generation, and by virtue of which the action of one force gives rise to one determinate movement while the action of another force produces another wholly different reaction? Is this, physiologically speaking, a process differing from that which makes the highest animals (including man) move, act, and think? <sup>1</sup>

(1) If, indeed, the contemplation of certain beings of the objective world permits us to infer the presence in them of subjective states when they present to us phenomena of activity founded upon association, we ought equally to admit consciousness in the most primitive unicellular beings, which have not yet profited by any evolution. Among these, it is true, there can be no association between cells, but one may very readily conceive that between different parts of the protoplasm (which is not homogeneous) there are certain very definite dynamic relations. Are not such associations

Indeed, what characterizes the beautiful researches of Loeb is the way in which all the reactions hitherto comprehended under the ambiguous term of instincts, are reduced to very simple physico-chemical acts, although the formula is far from being given, and the mistake is made of being too well satisfied, for the moment, with the neologies which symbolize these processes not as yet understood,—but this makes little difference! The question may be stated thus: Is there a difference in kind between a simple action of the tropism type and the physiological concomitant of a higher act of association of ideas?

We reply that there is not, because in the two cases we must have recourse in explanation to the processes of physical association; for, taken by itself, the cause of each of the associations intervening in the most complicated reasoning may be referred to dynamic processes altogether like those of the most elementary tropisms.

It is true that the highest psychic associations are the product of individual experience,—and even hereditary dispositions cannot be dissociated from their later acquisitions,—while the others (instincts) are only the result of race experience or of spontaneous variation; but this difference in the development or origin of these two kinds of associations, individual and generic, does not justify their separation into distinct categories, from the physiological point of view. But this point of view is the only one which we should take, since it is concerned precisely with an objective criterion. Loeb, Bethe, and their followers, who accord the quality of consciousness to the “higher” (that is, acquired or cortical) processes of association, have, then, no decisive reason for denying it to the “lower” (that is, congenital, subcortical, or interprotoplasmic) associations, since there is no difference in kind between the two classes of coördinations.

Besides, tropisms, which we regard as the most elementary acts possible, are perhaps more complex than we believed them, and imply many hidden springs. We must beware of too simple words. No one doubts that a physiologist from Sirius or from Saturn descending upon our planet in the pursuit of his studies, might succeed in reducing our most human actions to very vulgar tropisms. Thus this new Micromegas, whom we will suppose to differ from Voltaire's, in being ignorant of our earthly languages, noting the numerous points of attraction which, in the shape

implied by the idea of finality? Finality is the characteristic of vital actions; life has its condition in harmony, by virtue of which the losses are exactly compensated, and at the fitting moment, by the gains. This harmony consists essentially in certain molecular motions, which differ only in degree from higher nervous associations.



of taverns, draw the human crowd, might invent an ethylo-tropism, which would certainly be one of the most universal after heliotropism. He might describe, also, a negative heliotropism among bakers, actresses, and other persons who turn night into day, a nosotropism for physicians, a necrotropism for undertakers, a phytotropism for gardeners, a geotropism for field laborers. And he would not be entirely wrong. He would err undoubtedly in taking our human acts which are the product of a very complex mechanism for entirely simple reactions to equally simple stimuli, and in clothing the whole with a few high sounding words. But he would be right in identifying the immediate causes of our actions, the forces which animate our bodily mechanism, with the general forces of nature. In the last analysis, in fact, that which determines the aptitudes of men for a given profession, their propensities to a particular vice, is rooted in needs, in tendencies, the exact causes of which elude our comprehension, but which we may conceive under the form of attractions and repulsions exerted by certain external agents upon our nervous centres, themselves fashioned either by heredity or by the conditions of their education, and which in the final account are reducible to molecular modifications of the cells of our organism and closely resemble tropisms.

The youth who feels himself drawn to medical studies or he who is attracted by botany, can no more account for his profoundest aspirations than the beetle which runs to the odor of a dead animal, or the butterfly invited by the flowers, and if the first shows a certain feeling corresponding to these secret states of the organism (a feeling of "predilection" for such a career, etc.), how can one dare to deny to the second analogous states of consciousness?

Now Loeb and his colleagues commit, perhaps, the same error as the physiologist from Sirius in taking for tropisms actions which are too complex, but this is a question of pure physiology which is secondary for us. (Everything depends, too, upon the definition of the word tropism.) On the other hand, it is to be regretted that they do not consider, like the man from Sirius, all the acts of our mechanism, the highest as well as the lowest, as capable of being reduced, as to their nature, to processes analagous to tropisms, and differing only by a greater or less complexity. Such a conception would have prevented that arbitrary subdivision of animals into two groups, which even separates into two opposed camps frogs and likewise fishes, according as their acts are or are not a function of consciousness.

We see, then, that even in applying the proposed criterion, we do not reach the distinction which it is its object to reveal, since all organisms satisfy the requisite objective conditions.

But perhaps there exists another criterion than that of the associative function. An American writer, Watkins, has recently attempted to formulate one. When we observe an infusorian given over to the caprices characteristic of its errant life, we cannot help noticing the striking resemblance between its activity, however modest it may be, and that of the highest beings. In either case we get that impression of *spontaneity* which appears to be a peculiar quality of animal life. The infusorian comes, goes, advances, recoils, turns to the right, to the left, pauses as if to reflect, starts afresh, extends itself, shortens itself, takes food, and rejects, with nothing whatever in the surrounding medium appearing to explain the diversity of these performances. "It appears that we have in this abrupt change of behavior a sure test for the presence of consciousness," says Watkins.<sup>1</sup> This writer recognizes, on the other hand, that the absence of this sign cannot be a proof of the absence of consciousness. We can be certain only that subjectivity is awake whenever this objective sign manifests itself. In spite of this judicious qualification, this test is still illegitimate, for, do we know enough about the intimate chemistry of the cell to be sure that it is not to its proper modifications that these movements are due which appear to be spontaneous because we are in ignorance of the cause? In digestion, for example, are not our stomach and intestines and their contents undergoing multiple movements capable of seeming quite spontaneous to an outside observer, since they manifest themselves without any perceivable change in the environment? Is this activity conscious on that account?

Again, take a little experiment, very easy to perform, which should not fail to interest anybody willing to take the trouble to repeat it; it is very suggestive and abundantly shows how embarrassing is the problem of life, inasmuch as some reactions bearing a deceptive resemblance to those which characterize living organisms may be produced by a typically inorganic body, a metal. Bernstein, professor of physiology at Halle, has recently described this pretty experiment: Place in a saucer containing some water acidulated (for example, with sulphuric or nitric acid) a drop of mercury, in the presence of a small crystal of bichromate of potash. You will soon see the drop of mercury to be the seat of little tremors, to elongate, move slowly, then rush upon the crystal of bichromate, around which it will spread itself and about which it will excitedly dance, as if bent on absorbing it. After a few moments, however, the drop of quicksilver becomes still and suddenly abandons the bichromate to return to its original position and take again its globular form. But shortly there will

(1) *Psychical Life in Protozoa* in *American Journal of Psychology*, vol. xi., p. 174.



be a fresh attack upon the bichromate by the mercury, then another rest after the battle and so on, alternately, until the crystal has been completely dissolved and transformed by the acidulated water. Now the movements which this drop of metal executes appear absolutely spontaneous; an observer who was not in the secret would swear that he had to do with a famished organism which, perceiving prey in the vicinity, rushes upon it, sucks of its substance, then, its first hunger appeased, goes to rest awhile before continuing its feast and finally, satiated, retires to take its siesta! Note, also, that the mercury manifests, if need be, a faculty of choice; if, beside the crystal of bichromate you place a little stone or a bit of glass or of cloth, the drop of metal,—I was about to say the animal,—will *choose* the bichromate and will in nowise be attracted by the other substances.<sup>1</sup> And yet is this mercury conscious? And is it necessary in order to explain these strange reactions to suppose it to be so?

To recapitulate briefly the points which we have just passed in review: We have seen first of all that, even in applying the criterion proposed by Loeb and Edinger, we are not able to establish between animals the distinction which it is its object to reveal, since all organisms satisfy the requisite objective conditions; but a criterion which applies to all cases is no longer one: that, for another reason, this criterion is, in fact, without value, since some acts, certainly depending upon the associative function, are unconscious, as we, human beings, are able to testify: that, finally, supposing that this associative function were a sure sign of consciousness, there would be no reason whatever for supposing the absence of the associative function to imply an absence of consciousness. Neither can this abrupt modification of behavior nor the faculty of choice, as we have shown, imply the presence of subjectivity in organisms which give evidence of them.

If we have discussed in detail the proposed criteria it is in order the better to point out their inanity. But we might have dispensed with this long examination. In fact, we might have demonstrated *a priori* that the establishment of an objective criterion of consciousness is impossible for animals. Suffice it for this purpose to recall the fundamental principles of physiological psychology.

The first of these principles is that of concomitance, designated more often by the name of *parallelism*. It may be formulated as follows: "Every psychic phenomenon has a determinate physical concomitant,"

(1) Some analogous reactions have been obtained by H. S. Jennings (*Artificial Imitations of Protoplasmic Activities*, in *Journal of Applied Microscopy*, vol. v., 1), by placing "a drop of clove oil in a mixture of glycerin and alcohol."

that is to say, the various sensations, thoughts, volitions which make up the web of our mental life, of our subjective life, are accompanied by a parallel series of modifications of our bodily organism and particularly of our nervous system. And here emerges a pressing question: What sort of connection is there between the two series? We are not concerned with discussing at this time the various answers which the divers metaphysical theories have made, for we are on biological ground and need not quit it. Let us remark only the impossibility of reducing the one to the other of these two orders of phenomena, or of establishing between them any relation whatever beyond that of simultaneity. The absolute distinction, the radical opposition between subjective, psychic fact, and objective, physical fact, or in other terms, psycho-physical heterogeneity, is, indeed, the most fundamental and the most obvious of all matters of our knowledge, albeit a Descartes was needed to perceive it. A sensation of red perceived by me has no imaginable community whatever, either with the vibrations of the ether or with the physico-chemical modifications of my retinal or cerebral cells. My perception of a surface, of an extent, has no community of nature with that objective surface. I perceive a stick ten metres long and judge it to be double the length of another of five metres, but my perception will not have a length of ten metres and will not be double my perception of the five metre stick. I perceive the volume of this room, but my perception has not its volume of two hundred cubic metres. I perceive that the window and the table are separated by a certain distance, but no distance separates my two perceptions of the window and the table, and if the group of visual cells stimulated by the rays of light proceeding from the window is separated by a certain distance in the brain from the group of cells which are excited by the rays coming from the table, there is no warrant for saying that this intracerebral distance should be present to consciousness. It is quite useless to insist at greater length upon this heterogeneity which all great modern thinkers have recognized, upon this "impassable chasm,"—to quote the expression used by Tyndal and DuBois Raymond,—this impassable chasm which separates the two great classes of phenomena, material and psychic.

The subjective and the objective are, then, heterogeneous, from which it evidently follows that we cannot, the one being given, construct the other. In virtue of the principle of parallelism, it is only *empirically* that we can establish the famous criterion by noting or comparing the (simultaneously) corresponding moments of the two series (physical and psychic), as the linguist determines the equivalents between two different languages for the compilation of a dictionary. *The establishment of a*



*criterion, then, requires that the two series should have been antecedently given.* To cite an example, it is only empirically that we can establish a relation between temperature and criminality, two heterogeneous phenomena. In itself, temperature permits us to draw no conclusion whatever respecting criminality, nor the number of crimes committed any conclusion respecting temperature. In the case of man, it is true, we may establish certain empirical relations, but there emerges afresh the question as to whether, indeed, the lower nerve centres, the spinal cord, the medulla, etc., are really quite unconscious, and whether our unconsciousness corresponds to their unconsciousness. Now, being altogether quite as ignorant of the subjective side of an animal as of that of our own subcortical centres we are incapable of drawing up empirically the list of psycho-physical equivalents in animals. *Such a criterion could not, therefore, be established unless we were not ignorant of precisely that with which this criterion would aim to acquaint us!*

And that is why our biologists when, having given them the nervous system of an animal, they try to infer from it the degree of consciousness corresponding to it, act like a physicist who would pretend to deduce immediately from his thermometric observations the number and nature of crimes which are committed at the same instant!

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We have yet to answer one of the questions which we asked at the beginning of this discussion: Of what use is it to seek an objective criterion of the animal consciousness? Of what use can it be to know whether an animal is conscious or not? In short, what is the rôle of consciousness from the psycho-physiological point of view?

Now, here we have an essential point, the sole one which, if it could and should be cleared up, would justify the pretensions of the new school. Unhappily it is precisely that upon which Loeb, Eddinger, and their colleagues refrain from giving us any information whatsoever.

If consciousness is of so great importance in the processes of movement (seeing that according to these writers it produces or modifies it), it must then be admitted that a conscious fact, as such, from the circumstance of its being non-objective, exerts an influence upon the nervous system; this is an inevitable conclusion. But in that case the axiom of heterogeneity is violated, the postulate of parallelism,—that principle which is like a railing to keep the investigator from falling into the dangerous abyss of metaphysics,—is set aside, and we sink into the purest spiritualism, where it is curious enough to encounter the aforesaid biologists, who undoubtedly

indulge in high metaphysics without knowing it. All the confusion comes from the fact that these authors fail to take into consideration the principle of parallelism, the adoption of which is a necessary postulate in all psychological research. Parallelism is the only position possible for one who would work by the scientific method, that is to say, without prejudging either the how or the why of the relation between mind and body, between the subjective side and the objective side of mental phenomena, or the causes of this duality. As soon as the savant ceases to consider the chain of physiological processes and that of conscious states as running parallel, as soon as he admits the influence of one of these series upon the other, he becomes a metaphysician.

From the point of view of parallelism, then, the fact that a biological process may or may not be conscious, makes absolutely no difference, since, even supposing that we might prove certain animals or certain animal acts to be conscious and others to be unconscious, *we should be obliged to regard this consciousness as playing no part*, and to consider all the processes as if they were unconscious,—which comes back to saying that the establishment of an objective criterion of consciousness, supposing it could be done, would not respond to any need.

It is true that this method of procedure, which seems so clear, is scarcely admitted by those very persons who would reap the greatest advantage from its adoption, that is, biologists and physicians. They cannot decide to consider the mind as exerting no influence over the body, to ignore it. Thus Durand de Gros, for example, thought that there was a consciousness for acts mediated by the spinal cord and ganglia, automatic acts, etc. It is quite possible! Haeckel allows that the first living molecules are already endowed with consciousness and will. Certainly we cannot be sure of the contrary! Forel himself adopts a similar polypsychism. Now we shall find ourselves quite naturally exempt from the discussion of these views, for the reason that, being contrary to the spirit of parallelism, they are not of such nature as to bring us the light desired. The polypsychism of Durand de Gros, Haeckel, and Forel might be demonstrated a hundred times; that would not solve in the slightest measure the problem of the *why* of that conscious aspect. It would only push back to the lower centres that difficulty before which we found ourselves disarmed when it was a question of the cerebral cortex, for, either this conscious aspect plays a rôle, or it is superfluous. The first hypothesis is inadmissible from the scientific point of view, since it departs from the postulate of parallelism and the axiom of heterogeneity, which fix the limits of positive psychology; and if the second be considered as true, if consciousness be superfluous, if i



be only an epiphenomenon, a luxury, as Maudsley has said, of what use is it to take cognizance of its presence, seeing that biology cannot consider it as a factor operative in the determination of events? Polypsychism and the monism which is its doctrinal development, is a very respectable philosophical opinion, the falsity of which it is perhaps even impossible to demonstrate. But it is not a *scientific* hypothesis, for the peculiarity of a scientific hypothesis is that it permits us to attach to a determining cause a certain number of as yet unexplained facts; this is its sole aim, its only justification for existence. An hypothesis like that of a multiplicity of conscious corpuscles must, therefore, be still-born since, in view of the special nature of the psycho-physical problem, it can never be explanatory.

Other savants admit that consciousness does not accompany all physiological processes, that it appears only in certain determinate cases where a new function is to be created in "accommodation" to new conditions: "there can be no doubt that during the period of acquisition the consciousness of the sensori-motor centres must be carried to its maximum intensity," thinks Herzen; "consciousness invariably and necessarily accompanies the breaking of new ground in the brain," etc.

This way of looking at the matter is apparently more logical; it is as repugnant to common sense to hold that consciousness is always indispensable as it is to believe with Maudsley that it is never so. To make consciousness intervene at a certain point, therefore, seems rational. But what Herzen and Richet and others who hold similar views neglect to tell us is precisely the important point: Why should "the breaking of ground in the brain" be accompanied by consciousness? If, indeed, consciousness as such is indispensable, it is because the body (the physical world) is not self-sufficient. This amounts to the bankruptcy of physiology, in so far as it is subject to the principle of the conservation of energy. Then what should biology do? What should be the position of the biologist face to face with the animal consciousness? When the biologist becomes physiologist, he should ignore it,—as the astronomer when he calculates the velocity of the motion of a planet or the duration of an eclipse, ignores the existence of God,—for he has no need of that hypothesis. It is embarrassing enough to add on the subjective to the objective where, as in the case of man, we cannot help ourselves; hence we should be chary of assuming it where we are not forced to. As a man, as philosopher of nature, the biologist may be a materialist, spiritualist, monist, solipsist, Kantian, theosophist, or anything he pleases, and solve the problem of the relation of mind and body according to the bias of his particular habit of mind, or according to the indications of his æs-

thetic or moral sense; but as a physiologist, that is to say, as a pioneer of a science founded upon physical determinism and the postulate of the conservation of energy, he is bound to ignore the categories of phenomena which are not reducible to a manifestation of this energy. This is undoubtedly the conception of biology which will ultimately triumph. One of the physiologists cited above, Bethe, has himself recently taken this point of view in recognizing with perfect frankness that the question of the criterion of consciousness has nothing to do with biology. But as often happens with new converts, Bethe has been carried to the opposite extreme, and he who formerly made of the (subjective) "image" of the stick an indispensable factor in the flight of a dog threatened by its master, today repudiates that subjective state to such a degree that he has invented a special vocabulary for the use of biologists, the terms of which are exempt of all subjective connotation.<sup>1</sup> Here are some of the new-fangled terms: instead of saying that an animal perceives, we should hereafter say that it "receives" ("recipieren"), a sense organ shall be only an "organ of reception" ("Receptionsorgan"), to see should become "photorecipieren," the eye, "photorecipient," to feel (by touch), "tango-" or "mecano-recipieren," to hear, "phonorecipieren," the organ of hearing, "Phonoreceptionsorgan," etc.

We suspect that this attempt to render more objective, more physiological, the study and explanation of animal behavior and the terminology which is applied to it, while in itself quite legitimate, entails a serious consequence. It leads logically to the suppression of comparative psychology. Bethe and some other physiologists, Beer, Uexküll, etc., have well comprehended this, and they contest the possibility of this science, which they would replace by comparative "physiology."<sup>2</sup> They hope thus by banishing all anthropomorphism from such studies, to succeed in expressing in mathematical or chemical formulas all manifestations of animal life.

As we may fancy, this deadly warfare of comparative physiology is not being waged without the most spirited protestations and the most violent rejoinders. Moreover, those who throw themselves into the thick of the fight to defend the right of animals to their psychology, do not all march under the same flag. The army of dissenters is composed first of all of those who, little understanding what it is all about, fancy that it is to the

(1) See Th. Beer, A. Bethe, and J. von Uexküll, *Vorschläge zur einer Objectivierender Nomenclatur in den Physiologie des Nervensystems*. *Biol. Centralbl.*, vol. xix., 1899, 15, p. 517. Also *Centralbl. für Physiol.*, vol. xiii., 1899, 6, p. 138.

(2) *Loc. cit.*



intelligence, to the superiority of animals that we deal a blow in wishing to explain everything by physiology; marching behind these are the spiritualistic psychologists, who believe, like the learned observer of ants, the Jesuit Father, Wasmann, that mind intervenes to incite in one way or another bodily reactions. Then in the rear, come the monists, who protest, with Forel, against the exclusion of mind, since it is one side, one aspect of the body, and the one cannot exist without the other.

What position should the partisans of parallelism take? The question is a delicate one. On the one hand, from a strictly logical point of view, parallelism can but approve the tendencies of the new biological school, since it is from parallelism that they first arose; on the other hand, it cannot agree to the suppression of comparative psychology, and for the following reason. The intimate physiological mechanism of nervous reactions, that which governs perception, the association of ideas, feeling, judgment, inference, abstraction, reasoning, volition, is still absolutely unknown. It is only possible by introspection (subjectively) to distinguish the characteristics of these several activities, and it is only in psychological language that we can describe them. Whence a first difficulty: in devising a purely physico-mechanical terminology, Bethe and his colleagues abandon the possibility of giving an account of facts when they begin to be complex, because the objective mechanisms corresponding to these facts are unknown. But it is not in the mere difficulty of language that the danger of the suppression of comparative psychology lies. The danger is more serious. It touches thought itself, as the result shows. What is this danger? Wishing at all hazards, to give an account of their experiments in comparative biology, in physiological language, the savants of the new school find themselves obliged, in order to satisfy the stipulations of their contract to adhere to their so-called objective nomenclature, to bring the facts down to the level of their vocabulary, just as a tailor for children, if he had to fit an adult in one of their costumes, might cut off the arms and legs of his unfortunate customer! And they have been brought to consider as of the nature of very simple reflexes that which is beyond a doubt the result of cerebral activity of the highest kind, but an activity, it is true, that we are not able to describe except in terms of the mental states which are its subjective accompaniment. Thus, for example, Bethe considers the return to the nest, in ants and bees, the result of a simple, wholly physical attraction of the nest for these insects, while various experiments (made by Forel, Wasmann, Yung, Peckham, Buttell,) prove that the return is frequently the result of education, of individual memory.<sup>1</sup>

(1) See my general review on *L'Orientation lointaine*, in *Archives de Psychologie*, vol. ii., 6.

The suppression of comparative psychology, which appears to be a logical consequence of the postulate of parallelism and the axiom of heterogeneity, is proved, then, to be in practice unrealizable, quite as unrealizable as the suppression of human psychology which would have, after all, in the eyes of mechanical biology the same cause for disappearing,—if physiology were in a condition to replace it. Further, in the present state of the science, this suppression of comparative psychology is and can only be a simple farce; in fact, the physiological explanations of the processes of cerebration, in spite of their appearance of scientific rigorism and of mathematical precision, frequently amount to nothing more than a translation into physiological language of the psychological facts themselves. What do we know of the cerebral mechanism of the association of ideas, of perception,—to take only the simplest psychic facts? Nothing. And the cerebral theories, whether anatomical or psychological, which we have attempted to construct are simply tracings over the positive data of psychology. It would be, then, for the present in any case, a serious inconvenience to exclude from biology psychological language.

Biology may, then, assume precisely in virtue of parallelism, which permits it to adopt this *modus faciendi* without any danger to itself, and ought even to assume in animals a conscious mentality, to lend them one, not by way of explaining, but in order to be able to give an account of their activities, and that without taking sides on the question as to whether animals are conscious or not, while abandoning wholly the attempt to find an objective criterion of consciousness.

In other words, biology should work simultaneously according to two parallel methods each of which has its advantages and disadvantages, but which are mutually complementary; the *ascending* or physiological method, which, setting out from the amoeba, from the plant, even from the mineral, strives in mounting little by little the ladder of life, to explain the motor manifestations which it encounters by referring them to physico-chemical mechanisms. This procedure is the more precise, the more rigorous, but it has soon to be abandoned, for as activities become more complex, they refuse to be imprisoned in any mathematical or chemical formula. The other method, which may be called the *descending* or psychological method, starts from man, from ourselves, in whom conscious states are indisputable, and tries to give an account in psychological language of the mental life of animals. Reasoning by analogy, we may readily admit some subjective states in the monkey as we admit them among our own kind, but there is little reason for denying to the dog that which we grant to the monkey, nor to the rabbit that which we



accord to the dog, and so on. The descending method could then be employed throughout the animal scale, with prudence, it is true, and without neglecting the law of parsimony,—a sure safeguard against the rock of anthropomorphism,—according to which we ought always to seek for the simplest possible explanation of a phenomenon.

It is now possible to put one's finger on the error which Loeb, Edinger, and their school commit. Their mistake has certainly not been that they have recognized both methods as valid, but on the contrary, that they have left off using the one at the point where they have begun to employ the other, that they have discontinued the usage of each of the methods half way instead of employing them simultaneously. In consequence of this manner of proceeding they have reached the bizarre conclusion that the lower animals are mechanical, while the higher animals are conscious, beings. It is somewhat as if a man about to take a journey should consult at the same time his barometer and thermometer, and finding one very low and the other very high should conclude (being incapable of understanding how both could be quite correct at the same time) that it would rain until mid-day and be very hot the rest of the day. The descending method may be as advantageously applied to the lower organisms as the ascending method to the higher organisms.

Before closing, yet another remark which follows from all that we have said, and notably from the principle of parallelism. The problem of the consciousness of animals has nothing to do with that of their "intelligence." We can as well conceive that a very complex train of reasoning or a creation of genius may have a physiological side as we can that a sensation has. The question of the greater or less intelligence of animals no more prejudices that of their degree of consciousness than the concept of a tropism implies the absence of consciousness. These are two questions the solutions of which neither prejudice nor mutually exclude each other. We ought to oppose the simple to the *complex*, not the simple to the *conscious*.

In loyalty to psycho-physical parallelism, and in view of the impossibility, theoretical and practical, of establishing an objective criterion of consciousness, biology ought to turn its attention from the question at what grade of organization in the evolution of living beings, at what stage of nervous development, the first glimmerings of consciousness appear. But, still loyal to parallelism, and finding itself practically unable to do otherwise, it can give an account in psychological language of the activity of animals, their habits, their intelligence, their feelings, their sensations, if only it be ready subsequently to translate these observations, in proportion to the progress of physiology, into the terms of mechanical

energy, which are those of science. This is, moreover, precisely what happens in human psychology. This amounts to saying that Descartes' brilliant conception of the "animal machine" should be regarded not as a dogma but as a method.

In no case, then, will biology have to ascertain whether animals are or are not conscious *in reality*. We see, then, alas! the vanishing of the hope, embraced for a moment, of finding the key to that mystery which threatens to be eternal,—the mystery of the appearance in the world of that psychological consciousness, that inner light through which we may possess all knowledge, yet which cannot fathom its own origin, and must ever remain ignorant where and when, at what point on the infinite line of time, at what stage in the course of evolution, its cradle was prepared. We must reconcile ourselves to this ignorance which, as much as thirty years ago, the illustrious biologist, DuBois Reymond, showed us to be without remedy. *Ignorabimus!*



# MODERN ORCHESTRAL CONDUCTORS

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IT IS related that once Theodore Thomas conducted, in a western city, a performance of an oratorio, the soprano part of which was taken by no less a celebrity than Adelina Patti. At the rehearsal a dispute arose regarding the pace at which a certain air was to be taken. Mme. Patti claimed that her opinion ought to prevail, as she was the prima donna, whereupon Mr. Thomas retorted, "I beg your pardon, Madame, but here *I* am prima donna!"

This amusing little incident illustrates a curious change which has within a few decades taken place in the world of music. Time was when the most important personage in the tone world was the operatic prima donna, or "first lady." But about a quarter of a century ago the orchestral conductor began, in European capitals, to assume an importance equal to that of the prima donna, and during the past decade he has actually been a more prominent personage than the opera singer. So noticeable has this phenomenon become, that these modern leaders have been often derisively referred to as "prima donna conductors."

Our own metropolis has harbored some conductors of this new type, notably Theodore Thomas and Anton Seidl, who had their adorers, as ardent as those of any operatic soprano or tenor. But Thomas went to Chicago and Seidl died. For several years after his death New York had to get along without conductors of the very highest class, although Signor Mancinelli and Herr Schalk were excellent in their sphere. Emil Paur and Walter Damrosch were not without champions, but neither of them had the personal magnetism and the power of compelling emotion which modern concert goers value above all things; and as for Hermann Hans Wetzler, he is only just beginning, and last year he made up his programmes almost entirely of brilliant music, which, while giving good opportunity to show that there had been an unusual number of rehearsals, did not allow any safe inference as to the conductor's temperament. Alfred Hertz of the Metropolitan Opera House, alone, gave performances that recalled the emotional eloquence of Anton Seidl. But the concerts remained unattractive.

This season, presto, what a change! Instead of a famine, a feast. More than half a dozen of the most famous European conductors make their first appearance in American cities. Mr. Conried of the Metro-

politan Opera House, has, in addition to Hertz, Felix Mottl of Carlsruhe and Bayreuth, while the generosity of Andrew Carnegie, John D. Rockefeller, E. Francis Hyde, Clarence M. Hyde, Grant B. Schley, Elkan Naumburg, and James Loeb has enabled the New York Philharmonic Society to engage for its concerts this winter, in addition to the admirable Victor Herbert of Pittsburg (who, more than any one else, preserves the Seidl traditions), six of the most eminent European orchestral leaders,—Édouard Colonne of Paris, Gustav F. Kogel of Frankfurt on the Main, Henry J. Wood of London, Felix Weingartner of Munich, Wasili von Safanoff of Moscow, and Richard Strauss of Berlin.

An epoch making innovation! London, Paris, and the cities of Germany occasionally are treated to a series of concerts, each of which is presided over by a different man, but in America this plan has not heretofore been feasible, for obvious reasons. It costs comparatively little in time or money for a musician to go from Berlin or Paris to London, but New York is different. Tchaikovsky once visited us, but as composer rather than as conductor, and when Dr. Dvořák came over he remained several years as director of Mrs. Thurber's National Conservatory. But the eminent conductors just named cross the ocean for only one concert each, except Strauss, who is to appear also, with the Wetzler and Philadelphia orchestras, in New York and other cities.

Add to the names given, those of Fritz Schell, Wilhelm Gericke, and Frank Van der Stucken, and we have a field with a dozen notable orchestral leaders, half of whom make their first appearance in America. Under these circumstances, the conductor question becomes the topic of the season and makes it a matter of general interest to discuss the circumstances which led to the ousting of the *prima donna* from the first place by the *primo uomo*, the wielder of the bâton. Such a thing could not have happened had not the conductor's functions undergone a complete sea change into something rich and strange.

It is not too much to say that the orchestral conductor, as we know him, is a peculiar product of the nineteenth century, nay, of the Wagnerian revolution of the second half of that century. Time beaters there have always been, but the modern orchestral interpreter is infinitely more than a time beater, and even as such he differs widely from his predecessors. The earliest time beaters of whom we have record exercised their accomplishment in a manner that fills our mind with amazement. The ancient nations had, of course, no orchestras in our sense of the word, but there were occasions when a number of instrumentalists played together, or singers united their voices chorally, and under such circumstances it was customary for the leader to beat together sea shells



or the large bones of animals, or to clap his hands, or even to ring a bell, in order to keep his forces together! In Greece and Rome, in fact, the leader was rather a time kicker than a time beater. The Greek coryphæus stamped with his feet to mark the accents, while the Roman *pedicularii* even had their feet soled with iron to emphasize this stamping! Such persistent barbarous noise would entirely mar the music for us. A modern conductor does not even dare to gently rap his desk with his bâton, except to prevent absolute confusion or collapse.

Various strange methods of keeping the performers together were employed during the mediæval centuries and those following, when music was slowly developing into a real art, and the orchestra began to resemble what we understand by it. In France the eminent opera composer, Lulli (who died in 1687), used a stick about a yard long, with which he pounded the floor loudly. With such zeal did he do this that on one occasion he accidentally hit his foot and caused a wound which led to his death. There was much complaint about the loud time beating in French opera houses, and Rousseau wrote sarcastically, "The opera in Paris is the only one in Europe at which they beat time without obeying, whereas elsewhere they obey without any beating."

In the eighteenth century, the fiddle bow was much used as a guiding wand. In such cases the concert master, or leader of the violins, was the real conductor. A partial survival of this custom may be seen even in our day when the leader of a dance orchestra plays his violin at the conductor's desk, only stopping to beat time with his bow at critical moments. At choral and other performances paper scrolls were much used in the good old times, the time beater holding one in his right hand, and sometimes a second one in his left. But in the most common method, especially at the performances of Italian operas, the conductor did not stand at a desk but sat at the piano (harpsichord), and played the *basso continuo*, accompanying the recitatives of the singers, and guiding the players with gestures.

The difficulty with all these methods and arrangements was that the leader could do little more than keep things going smoothly. Precision was the only cardinal virtue attainable; of nuances, subtle shadings, eloquent phrasing,—in a word, of interpretation,—there could be little or no question. It was not till the beginning of the nineteenth century that the fiddlers and pianists were relegated to their proper places and the conductor became responsible for the piloting of the band and the chorus. Historians have not been able to trace the use of the modern conductor's bâton in Germany farther back than 1801; in 1807 Gottfried Weber pleaded for the continuous and inaudible use of the wand. The bâton

was first used by Mosel in Vienna in 1812; by Weber in Dresden in 1817; by Spohr in London in 1820; by Mendelssohn in Leipzig in 1835.

When Richard Wagner was five years old, his great predecessor, Weber, made the first important attempt to discard the old Italian method of conducting and to substitute a proceeding more in harmony with the requirements of his time. His view on the subject he summed up in these words: "The conductor is the centre and the guiding spirit of the whole, from whom all effects must proceed. Therefore he should be placed between the orchestra and the singers so that he may see all and all may see him equally well. In this position he is able to assist the singers with minute gestures or subtle signs. For the singer, who does his part by heart, and is exposed to diverse scenic accidents, needs such aid particularly, while the orchestra has to follow and must not be overbearing."

It seems incredible, but is a fact, that Weber's predecessors were placed in the midst of the orchestra in such a way that they could not possibly communicate with the singers. The primitiveness of the whole arrangement at Dresden in 1818 is amusingly illustrated by the fact that the violoncello and double-bass players had no music stands of their own, but had to peep at their parts in the conductor's score, as well as they could, amid the gestures of his arms and the movements of his body! In the old-fashioned Italian operas, where the orchestral parts were of infantile simplicity, this arrangement was tolerable; in Weber's operas it was simply impossible. He consequently rearranged everything in such a way that he could not only guide the orchestra but pilot the whole, both vocal and instrumental, by the movements of his bâton, nods of his head, and telling glances from his eyes. But he had reckoned without his host. The Italian coterie was still very powerful in Dresden and its leaders succeeded in influencing the king, who gave a peremptory order that the old arrangement should be restored. This was a bitter disappointment and humiliation for Weber, but the intelligent music lovers sympathized with him, and gradually he succeeded in having his way. What is of special importance, he became the idol of Richard Wagner, who, in his boyhood, received the deepest impressions from Weber,—impressions which form the roots of his own "art-work of the future," as well as of his method of conducting.

Weber may be regarded as the first of the great conductors imbued with thoroughly modern ideas. At the same time, we must not forget that Beethoven had already followed similar impulses. To be sure, he never accepted a post as conductor, and during the last twenty years of his life his deafness made it impossible to become such. But what we know of his



earlier activity in this line entirely confirms the belief that Wagner was right in his views regarding the proper way of conducting. In the following testimony by Beethoven's friend, Seyfried, the reference to the "frequent passages in *tempo rubato*" (modifications of pace) is particularly important: "Our Beethoven was not one of those fastidious composers whom no orchestra could please; sometimes, indeed, he was too lenient, and would not even repeat passages which went badly at the rehearsal; 'It will go better next time,' he would say. But he was most particular about expression, the small nuances, the numerous alternations of light and shade, and the frequent passages in *tempo rubato*, all of which he was, however, quite ready to discuss with any one." And his contemporary, Schindler, wrote, "Almost everything that I heard Beethoven interpret was free from all (metronomic) rigidity of tempo; it was a *tempo rubato* in the properest sense of the words, as conditioned by content and situation. It was the most distinct and vivid declamation." Two days before the performance of his "Fidelio," Beethoven wrote to a friend regarding the way his music was "bungled" at the rehearsals, "Of the wind I will say nothing, but ——. All *pp.*, *cresc.*, all *decresc.*, and all *f.*, *ff.*, may as well be struck out of my music, since not one of them is attended to. I lose all desire to write anything more if my music is to be so played."

Yet such was about the way his music *was* played everywhere at the time when Wagner began his activity as a conductor. In his famous essay, "On Conducting," he complains that nothing was so difficult to obtain from a German orchestra as "das gleichmässig starke Aushalten eines Tones,"—the sustaining of a chord in unchanging loudness. Much reliance was placed on an exaggerated pianissimo, but it lacked body, just as the fortissimo lacked volume or sonority. There was no real forte, no real piano, not to speak of nuances. Nor were the Germans the only slovenly players. The Londoners were as bad or worse. In a letter to Liszt, Wagner describes the players at the Philharmonic concerts, which he conducted in 1855, as "clever machines which can never be got into the right swing." "The orchestra," he writes on another occasion, in reviewing his London experiences, "never played otherwise than mezzo forte; never was there a real forte or a real piano." When the "Lohengrin Prelude" was being rehearsed, the orchestra, as Praeger relates, could not at first understand the pianissimo required in the opening bars, "and besides the crescendos and diminuendos, which Wagner insisted upon having, surprised the executants. They turned inquiringly to each other, seemingly annoyed at his fastidiousness."

These English players did not realize at first that this "fastidiousness"

was the very life and soul of the musical performance. They had been allowed to play in this careless, monotonous fashion by Mendelssohn, their musical idol, and they opined that what was good enough for Mendelssohn must be good enough for Wagner. But it was not. Nor did he object only to the perpetual half loudness (*mezzo forte*) of their playing. What annoyed him still more was the difficulty of making them comprehend and follow the proper tempo at which a composition by Beethoven or some other modern master should be taken. Following the Mendelssohn traditions, he says, "the music poured on like water from a public fountain; to hold back was impossible, and every allegro ended as a veritable presto. To interfere with this custom was a painful duty; for when the *correct and properly modified tempo* was introduced, all the faults of execution and expression which had been hidden amid the customary outpouring of the music-fountain, were suddenly revealed."

The words I have italicized in the last sentence bring us to what is the most important of the reforms in the interpretation of modern music that Wagner insisted upon. Robert Franz once said in his blunt way, "He who takes a piece too fast is an ass, and so is he who takes it too slowly." Wagner would have agreed with him cordially. He maintained that the first and most important qualification for a conductor is a correct sense of tempo, because his choice of the pace of a piece shows at once whether he has understood the composer in other respects also. When he heard of a kapellmeister who had taken twenty minutes to perform the "Tannhäuser Overture," for which he himself required only twelve, he knew that that man could not have the faintest conception of the true spirit and meaning of the piece, either as a whole or in its details.

But it is not only the general pace of a piece that must be taken correctly if the music is not to be spoiled; it is also necessary,—emphasized particularly,—to modify the pace frequently in the same movement, and with a true instinct; and this is what Wagner did. Thus his "Tannhäuser Overture" might be played in exactly twelve minutes and yet be wrong from beginning to end, for the conductor might take the slow parts too fast and the fast parts too slowly, thus getting the average right but every detail wrong. Wagner himself once conducted his "Meistersinger Overture" in Leipzig with the correct and frequent modifications of tempo, and it was enthusiastically redemanded. Not long afterwards it was repeated by the same orchestra but under a conductor ignorant of the art of correctly modifying the tempo, and was roundly hissed.

Wagner's essay in which he pointed out the importance of frequent modification of tempo created a sensation, not so much because of what



he said about his own music as because he insisted that Beethoven's must be interpreted in the same way, especially the allegros. Up to the time of Mozart, he remarks, the allegro,—which, in a certain subtle sense, could hardly be taken too fast,—served simply as a contrast to the adagio, which, in the same subtle sense, could hardly be taken too slowly. In the adagio, emotional languor is the source of delight; the slightest harmonic change is a surprise and gratification. In the allegro, the object is not to fascinate us with soulful song (melody) but to intoxicate us with the excited movement. This was Mozart's own point of view. At a rehearsal of one of his lively overtures he whipped up his players into a wild frenzy which enabled them to get the presto he wanted, and then he exclaimed, "Very good! Now, this evening, just a little faster!"

This is the old-fashioned Mozartan or "naïve" allegro, as Wagner calls it. But the modern allegro of Beethoven,—the "sentimental" allegro,—is quite different, in his opinion, being, in reality, *a mixture of the adagio and the allegro*. He goes so far as to say that "even in the allegro, if we carefully note its most significant motives, the dominating feature is the song (slow melody) borrowed from the adagio." Wherever such a melodious passage occurs in an otherwise fast movement, the tempo should, of course, be modified,—moderated,—so as to reveal its true character. This is the Wagnerian idea of *tempo rubato*, and he declares that in the interpretation of modern music, beginning with Beethoven, such modification of tempo is as important as playing the notes correctly. It is "the vital principle of our music," yet up to the time when he wrote his essay (1869), the German conductors, he says, had ignored it entirely. He was the first, he avers, who dared to take the adagios slowly enough, while, as for the allegros, they were habitually taken by the conductors in an unvarying, monotonous, metronomic fashion which caused them to be looked on by the conductors themselves as "monstrosities," and by the public as bores.

The proof of the pudding lies in the eating thereof. When Wagner was appointed royal conductor in Dresden, he selected Beethoven's "Ninth Symphony" for a concert to be given for the benefit of the widows and orphans of former members of the orchestra. Thereat great consternation, because this symphony,—the grandest of all,—was considered obscure and uninteresting. But Wagner conducted it in his own way and changed the consternation to such unprecedented and profitable enthusiasm that he was requested to repeat the same work every year for the "Pensionsconcert." To take only two more instances: when, many years later, he gave a concert in Vienna, his bitterest foe, Dr Hanslick, confessed frankly that he had derived "a genuine pleasure"

from "his energetic reproduction of the 'Eroica Symphony,' with its fine and peculiar nuances." And regarding the reading of Weber at another concert, the same critic shows how Wagner applied his principles of interpretation in practice: "It was a real gratification to hear this 'Freischütz Overture,' which is usually reeled off at a monotonous, slovenly pace, for once with a new swing and exceedingly delicate nuances. The gradual crescendo and decrescendo of the horn passage in the introduction; the somewhat retarded pace of the melodious passage in the allegro; the broad sustaining of the two fermatas before the last part \* \* \* produced a beautiful effect."

Concerning Wagner's general attitude, Anton Seidl says in his admirable essay, "On Conducting," published by D. Appleton & Co.: "His body stood motionless, but his eyes glittered, glowed, pierced; his fingers worked nervously, and electric currents seemed to pass through the air to each individual musician; an invisible force entered the hearts of all; every man thrilled with him, for he could not escape the glance of this great man. Wagner held everybody bound to him as by a magical chain; the musicians had to perform wonders, for they could not do otherwise."

We have seen that Beethoven himself used the *tempo rubato*, or modification of pace, and that he was as eager as Wagner in careful attention to expression marks. But he could not get this attention. Weber's example, also, did not become a tradition. Wagner's revelations as to conducting, and his diatribes against the slovenly and incompetent leaders of his day, therefore, came like a thunderbolt from the sky. Many of the professional musicians antagonized his views, but the wisest and best of them became his pupils and followers,—among them Hans von Bülow, Hans Richter, and Anton Seidl,—and they helped to create a new epoch in orchestral conducting.

Hans von Bülow had the rare good luck of having the two greatest musicians of his time as instructors; Wagner in 1850-51 taught him at Zurich how to conduct an orchestra and pilot an opera, while subsequently he was Liszt's pupil for four years at Weimar. Liszt exerted an influence on the interpretation of modern and classical music fully equal to that of Wagner, primarily, of course, in the pianoforte department, but subsequently also in the orchestral field. Even Wagner, as he himself gladly acknowledged, had learned from Liszt. Indeed, Wagner by no means professed to have been the first to reveal the secret of correct musical interpretation. He had been deeply influenced by Weber, and he dwells at length on the benefit he had derived from hearing Habeneck in Paris, who had taught his players how to *sing* Beethoven on their instruments.



Great singers, like Schroeder-Devrient, also had given him, he relates, valuable hints regarding phrasing; and, as for Liszt, he confesses that, carefully as he had himself studied Bach and Beethoven, Liszt's interpretations at the piano came as revelations.

Liszt and Wagner had developed the same principles of interpretation independently of each other, Wagner at the head of the orchestra, Liszt at the pianoforte. When Liszt, tired of pianoforte playing, turned to composing symphonic poems and conducting operas and concerts, he simply transferred to the orchestra his unique art of reproducing the spirit of the great masters at the pianoforte. He expected of his players perfect technique, and he even regarded the ordinary expression marks,—piano, forte, crescendo, diminuendo, etc.,—as part of that technique, which by no means exhausted the matter. Everybody knows that a player may attend to all these expression marks and yet utterly miss the spirit of a piece. It was his aim, as it was Wagner's, to reveal that spirit, and his method of doing this was to teach his players not so much to attend to the accenting of bars and to the crude expression marks, as to *grasp the musical ideas* and make those emphatic and clear to the hearers, accenting, as a good actor does, not the first note of a line but the emphatic word, and thus bringing out the full emotional content. Given a good set of players, intelligent and obedient to his hints, Liszt was thus able to play on the orchestra as impressively and as *individually* as on the pianoforte. Anton Seidl wrote regarding him: "His Jovian countenance filled everybody with a sort of holy awe; his colaborers were lifted to the top of a lofty pedestal; all were profoundly, majestically moved, inspired, and made conscious of a high mission. Liszt radiated an exalted magic on singers as well as instrumentalists \* \* \* He compelled all to love and believe in the composition he brought forward."

With two inspired teachers like Liszt and Wagner, Hans von Bülow would have had to be a dullard, indeed, not to achieve something. But he was very far from being a dullard. He had an individuality of his own, and he enriched that by the teachings of his two masters. To be sure, there was often a pedagogic element in his playing which weakened the artistic effect, but that did not prevent him from becoming one of the greatest and most influential of conductors. He could make clear, even to the semi-musical, the subtle anatomical structure of a symphony, and he became one of the creators of what is known as the modern art of phrasing, as a special branch of the art and science of music.

In one respect he became epoch making. He started the custom of traveling about Europe with a symphony orchestra. Johann Strauss and others had gone on the road long before him, but only with dance

orchestras; he was the first who made the experiment with serious music, and it was a great success. He took the Meiningen orchestra, which was not in any way remarkable, and by dint of thorough rehearsing and instilling into his players the Wagner-Liszt principles of interpretation, he created a sensation throughout Germany, astonishing all and rousing the lazy routine conductors and players everywhere. This continued from 1880 to 1885. Subsequently he accomplished the same remarkable transformation with the Philharmonic orchestras of Berlin and Hamburg.

What Hans von Bülow did for Germany, Hans Richter achieved in Austria and in England. He was the man chosen by Wagner to conduct the first Nibelung festival at Bayreuth, in 1876. Subsequently he familiarized the Viennese with the true Wagnerian spirit by presiding for a number of years over their opera house and Philharmonic concerts. If Richter could have only multiplied himself a hundred fold, he might have played the whole score himself. When Wagner first discovered him he was a horn player. In 1872 Tappert wrote, "Richter is as much at home in the orchestra as a fish in the water. As real kapellmeister we see him now with a viola in his hand, and suddenly we find him behind the big drum, or tinkling the triangle." In 1879 he went among the traveling conductors; since that date he has given an annual series of Wagner-Beethoven concerts in London, and a few years ago he made his home entirely in England, where he is worshipped, and where his influence on the interpretation of orchestral music in general has been enormous. Sir Michael Costa died in 1884, but it seems as if centuries must have elapsed between his time and Richter's. Sir George Grove has given an amusing account of the extraordinary doings of this Italian, who for a long time was London's chief conductor, and who once remarked in Grove's hearing, "Beethoven has no melody." Costa, we are told, "did not rehearse the opera concerts himself,—that was done by Sainton, his leader." One of his concerts closed with Beethoven's "Coriolan Overture," given at the request of Grove, who, at the end, went into his room to thank him for it. But Costa dashed cold water on his enthusiasm by exclaiming harshly, "I will never play that piece again. It ends pianissimo and it is impossible to make any effect with it." Those were the "good old times"!

The third of Wagner's pupils,—Anton Seidl,—was fortunately fated to bring the true traditions to America. The ground had been well prepared for him by Mr. Theodore Thomas, who, practically self-taught, and deprived of the advantages enjoyed by Bülow, Richter, and Seidl, abroad, nevertheless, accomplished marvelous results, especially in the concert field. His career as an operatic conductor was fruitful but short,



and limited, so far as Wagner was concerned, to the earlier works. After Dr. Leopold Damrosch had successfully produced "Die Walküre," Anton Seidl was brought over, and it was under his bâton that "Die Meistersinger," "Tristan," "Siegfried," "Götterdämmerung," and "Rheingold," in the order here given, had their first performances in this country. No one could have had better preparation for this task. For six years he had lived in Wagner's house, helping him prepare his last works for the press and benefiting by his instruction. Subsequently he traveled with Neumann's "Wagner Theatre," conducting one hundred and thirty-five performances of the four Nibelung operas, beside fifty-eight Wagner concerts, in the cities of Germany, Austria, Switzerland, Belgium, Holland, and England. He was, therefore, able to perform Wagner's music with a truthfulness and an authority which, combined with his personal magnetism and his unflagging enthusiasm, made his readings irresistible, and helped swell the ranks of the Wagner worshippers enormously, so that New York actually became a second Bayreuth.

No conductor was ever so beloved by the singers, because he always helped them to do their best. While revealing all the orchestral beauties, he never overwhelmed the voices. He made the orchestra sing, sigh, whisper, exult, plead, threaten, storm, rage, with an eloquence that enraptured even those who had not before understood orchestral music. To him there applied what Mr. Gericke once said of Wagner's conducting, "The most striking thing about it was the surpassing delicacy of all the effects; modifications of force and tempo were almost incessant, but were for the most part modifications by a hair's breadth only." Seidl knew that the same melody, or motive, in an opera must be taken faster or slower according to the situation on the stage; that the larger a concert hall, the broader must be the tempo to produce the proper impression; and he employed a thousand other secrets unknown to the ordinary time beater.

While superlative in Wagner, he was scarcely less impressive in his interpretations of other modern masters. In Schubert, Schumann, and the early Beethoven he was not at his best; but Wagner himself could hardly have aroused more enthusiasm than Seidl did with his eloquent readings of the seventh and ninth of Beethoven's symphonies. As an interpreter of Liszt, Tchaikovsky, Dvořák, Grieg, and other modern masters, he had no equal; he also was peculiarly successful with the dainty, piquant music of contemporary French composers.

It is impossible to discuss here in detail other great conductors, nor is it necessary. The best of them have followed in the footsteps of Wagner and Liszt, and the details in which they differ are of minor

significance. In view of what has been said of the importance of modifications of tempo, it is not surprising that so many of these great orchestral leaders (Liszt, Richter, Seidl, Nikisch, Sucher, Mottl, Weingartner, Mahler,) are Austro-Hungarians, for it is among them that the *tempo rubato* is particularly at home, and the poetic freedom of movement is the soul of modern music. There are also pure Germans among these leaders of leaders,—among them Schuch, Steinbach, Richard Strauss; Frenchmen like Colonne and Lamoureux; and the Norwegian, Grieg, concerning whom Sir George Grove wrote in 1888, "How he managed to inspire the band as he did and get such nervous thrilling bursts and such charming sentiment out of them I don't know. He looks very like Beethoven in face, I thought, and though he is not so extravagant in his ways of conducting yet it is not unlike."

In the foregoing an attempt has been made to make clear, even to those who do not understand the technical jargon of music, the enormous difference between the old-fashioned time beater and the modern orchestral interpreter. The growing complexity, thoughtfulness, and emotionalism of music made this evolution necessary, and one of its results was an increasing tendency toward specialism. In Wagner's early days it was expected of every conductor that he should also compose operas and symphonies. Today there are men who combine the two functions, but in most cases these are separated. And this is as it should be. Wagner himself disliked to waste in mere conducting the energies he needed for the more important work of composing. Meyerbeer wrote to a friend in 1857: "The rehearsals sometimes make me ill." Moreover, the numerous trials and efforts to get things right often consume the best hours of the day. Ideas do not come to me every day; sometimes I have to wait long for a melody suitable for dramatic use. If I then happen to be in the midst of my work it is distressing to leave it when the hour for rehearsal comes. I am out of humor all day, because I have lost not only time but ideas. This is why I have so seldom conducted."

These are sufficient reasons why composers should not be conductors. As for the conductors, they, also, have their hands too full to find time for composing. The scores are becoming more and more complicated, and the interpreter is expected to know them by heart, like Bülow, Richter, and Nikisch, while the frequent rehearsals and numerous other duties, such as examining new scores and aspirants to fame as singers or players, keep a leader more than busy day and night. Hence the time will probably come when it will be a rare exception for a conductor to be also a creator. Luckily there is increasing honor and profit for conductors as well as for composers. Mr. Nikisch is said to earn about twenty-



five thousand dollars a year, and several others are not far behind him. As for the honors, they are, of course, easiest for those who can interpret German music, notably Wagner's. Even the Italians have discovered this. Signor Mancinelli refused to come to New York one season because the Wagner operas had been given to Seidl, and Mr. Conried's recent negotiations with Signor Toscanini of Milan came to naught because that famous Italian made it a condition that he should be allowed to conduct the Wagner operas!

# THE SYMBOLICAL DRAMA

EMILE FAGUET

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TOWARD the end of September, 1894, M. Pierre Weber wrote to M. Francisque Sarcey the following: "I went yesterday to a *matinée* at the Renaissance, and on returning home I read your article in the 'Temps.' You say that there has been a great deal of talk about symbolism with reference to the 'Femmes de Claude' (of Alexander Dumas the younger). Well! I think that if there is symbolism in that play, there is some in all plays. Those who have discovered, for example, that *Césarine* was the genius of evil, that *Claude* was the genius of good, absolutely impeccable, and that *Antonin* was humanity, good at heart but weak and susceptible to the seductions of evil, have exclaimed, 'This is Ibsenism!' But, if we take the matter thus, everything is Ibsenism! When my teachers in the 'lycée' explained to me that the 'Horace' of Corneille represented the struggle between love and patriotism, they might have added, 'This is Ibsenism.' The first Ibsenist was the first man who took it into his head to write a dramatic work; he is any one creating a personage, or giving reality to an abstraction. *Antigone* is an abstraction, *Œdipe* an entity. And what, pray, are *Alceste*, *Tartuffe*, or *Harpagon*? Symbols. How many times have you yourself told us in your lectures at the Odéon that these personages were great, because they would remain eternally true. And what is needed to make a personage eternally true, unless that it should symbolize a virtue, a vice, or some ridiculous trait, all of them true at all times? But art, dramatic art, consists,—does it not?—in breathing life into this abstraction, in clothing it, in making it disappear almost entirely under the costume, behind the mask, under the action of the personage, which must be shown to us in struggle with a state of events chosen expressly to give prominence to its character. \* \* \* This is what Ibsen will never be able to do. But to maintain that he invented symbolism on the stage is as absurd as it would be to say that he invented dramatic art itself. No! Ibsen has invented nothing. Like all others, he takes a general idea but he does not clothe it. He does not give it life, movement, or color. His is a skeleton symbolism!"

Francisque Sarcey inserted M. Weber's letter in his literary supplement of October 1, 1894, and added to it the following lines: "Here is

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the question clearly stated. I find fault with the personages of the 'Femmes de Claude,' not because they are symbolical but because they are not living beings. Never by any chance will an abstraction, or, if you please, an entity,—I will not dispute as to terms,—be interesting to me on the stage, for this very reason, that I desire to see upon it, not entities symbolizing an idea but beings of flesh and blood, suffering and weeping as I do, in whom I find an echo of my own joys and sorrows, in one word, beings full of life. When I have wept over them and with them, I shall certainly be able to detach from their personality the abstract idea that it represents. I will make a symbol of it, if I see fit. I do not desire any skeleton symbol, to use the expression of my correspondent."

The letter of M. Pierre Weber to Sarcey was the letter of a man who does not comprehend the question, to a man who, especially at that time, comprehended no question. A symbol is not at all an abstraction, and it is on that account that there are two words to signify these two things. An abstraction is a pure idea and a symbol is an image, wherefore it follows that a symbol which is an image is precisely the contrary of an abstraction, which is a pure idea, a barren and unadorned idea. We may find fault with the drama of abstractions, precisely because it is not symbolical, and we may find fault with the symbolical drama for departing too far from abstractions and for obscuring abstractions by images. "A symbol,"—such is the definition of the French Academy,—“is a figure or image serving to designate something by means of painting, sculpture, or speech. The dog is a symbol of fidelity; the dove is a symbol of simplicity; the lion is a symbol of valor; the weather-vane is a symbol of inconstancy; the palm and the laurel are symbols of victory.” This is the truth with regard to the word *symbol*. A symbol is as far from being an abstraction as it is from being a theorem. A lion, a dove, a dog, a weather-vane, and a palm, are neither abstractions nor entities,—I will not insist upon the term;—they are the images of abstractions substituted for the abstractions themselves, and consequently they fulfil the purpose, not of representing abstractions, but that of not representing any, and of carefully avoiding them. A dog, a dove, a lion, and even a weather-vane, are realities and living beings, or at least apparently living beings. I grant you that they may be employed to represent abstractions, but when representing them, they give them life, so that this is really the way or one of the ways of producing a living reality and not of producing an abstraction or a pure idea.

“I am old; my passions have grown cold and I have wrapped myself up in my sadness.” This is the pure idea, this is a style as abstract as a style can be. This is symbolism. Théophile Gautier:—

"Along by the walls, when the sun strikes upon them,  
To warm up my old, stagnant blood,  
With the dogs, beside the mendicant,  
I go and recline at the hour of noon.

"There I remain, and muse not and think not,  
Like a prodigal reduced to his last cent ;  
In the presence of my life now three quarters spent,  
Already an old man, although I have not lived.

"I love nothing, because nothing loves me,  
My soul, worn out, is deserting my body ;  
I bear within me my own sepulchre,  
And am more sunken in death than are many dead men.

"When the sun is hidden behind the cloud,  
Toward my hole I crawl painfully,  
And into the depths of my unknown suffering  
I withdraw, as cold as a serpent."

"My thoughts and my ideas come to grief in their endeavor to attempt the impossible and to attain to the ideal." Here is the idea in the pure state; here is style as abstract as it can be. Théophile Gautier :—

"Yesterday it seemed to me (doubtless I was intoxicated)  
That I saw on the arch of a bridge a clash of cavaliers  
Cuirassed with iron, covered over with copper,  
And caparisoned with quaint harness.

"Crouching dragons were growling under their helmets,  
Brazen Medusas opened their haggard eyes  
In their great bucklers and fantastic ornaments,  
And knots of serpents enameled their brassarts.

"At times, from the edge of the giant arcade  
A wounded cavalier, losing his balance,  
Or a bewildered steed, would fall into the gaping water,  
A crocodile's throat yawning beneath him.

"It was you, my desires, it was you, my thoughts,  
Seeking to force the passage of the bridge,  
And your bodies covered with bruises under their dented armor  
Sleep, buried in the deep gulf."

Here is symbolism, and I think that it will be acknowledged to be something animated. The *serpent's hole* and the *clash of cavaliers* are symbols, that is to say, lively realities, representatives of an idea. In the drama the case is the same, and there a symbol is nothing but the living representative of an idea. Ordinarily and for a very simple reason, the drama makes no use of the symbol. The dramatist, embody-



ing his ideas in personages, does not need to use out-of-the-way means, and, moreover, does not need to embody them in a reality which, even though a living one, is not human. He has his men and his women and they are amply sufficient. By its nature, the drama excludes symbolism. Is it, for the same reason, anti-symbolical? Not precisely so. It may represent its ideas by its personages and, in addition, by something outside of its personages. It need not do so; at the same time it is not at all forbidden to do so. The process simply affords an additional means. The means may, however, become a burdensome one, and it is against this that the dramatist must be on his guard; but there is the possibility of its being only something additional, just an ornament, a commentary, or an instructive or pleasing illustration. In our mystery plays of the Middle Ages there was seen, moving about the principal personage, a hideous, whirling figure, suggesting to him alluring words and bad thoughts. This was the Devil, and he was a symbolical personage. The evil desires, the evil passions, the evil designs that the principal personage had in his head, he himself expressed in part, while another *symbolized* them and presented a hideous, repulsive, and frightful image of them. As byplay this was excellent, and it was fortunate for dramatic æsthetics that the beliefs of the time permitted the putting on the stage, without fear of ridicule, of a symbolical personage, for there are secret thoughts which one does not tell to a confidant, which one does not even utter to one's self, and which would be improbable in a confession to a confidant or even in a monologue. To have them expressed by nobody, and to symbolize them in a living personage, representing the miry depths of our soul, was a means of avoiding the absurdity of a confidant and the absurdity of a monologue.

Well, Ibsen does this same thing. In the first place, and in so far as invention is concerned, Ibsen is the greatest psychological dramatist since the time of Racine; in the second place, his greatest novelty is that he has invented symbols explanatory of the general thought of his work and intended, moreover, to illustrate it in a pleasing manner.

Oddly enough, it is the French, a people who generally show little tendency toward symbolism, and never do so in their drama, it is they who have, not discovered,—for we must not forget the great English critic, the prophet and evangelist of Ibsen, William Archer,—but who have proclaimed most loudly that Ibsen's drama is full of symbolism, and it is a very great Scandinavian critic, Georg Brandes, who has maintained most tenaciously that there is not the slightest symbolism in Ibsen's drama. In the issue of January, 1896, of the international and polyglot review called the "Cosmopolis," Mr. Brandes maintained that

the French, who at that time saw symbolism in all things, saw some on every page of Ibsen, that they were idiotic, that there was not a single symbol in the whole of Ibsen, and that Ibsen was, as the Germans had well made out, purely and simply a "naturalist," or, in the vernacular, purely and simply a realist. Mr. Brandes was right in reproaching our subtle refiners, our æsthetes, and in plain terms, our imbeciles, for seeing a symbol in every line of Ibsen, but he was wrong, and he went too far in his intention of showing us to be crazy (it is "the subtlety of insanity," he said), when he even declared that there is not a symbol in the whole of Ibsen. I should like to know the meaning of the house of a hundred stories, built by Solness, the builder, from which he falls and breaks his neck. Is it not an image representative of his excessive ambition, of his aspirations toward an ideal that cannot be realized? Otherwise, wherefore the house? What has the house to do with me? House, what is thy meaning? House, for what art thou useful? House, what interest hast thou? House, what dost thou desire of me? Yes, the house is evidently a symbol, that is to say, an image representing the general idea of the piece, explaining it, and putting it in a bright light, and impressing it the more deeply in the mind of the spectator or the reader, by interesting his imagination in it, just as any image does. In "Brand," what is the old church, dingy and shaky, replaced by the new church, which is flooded with light and stands firm on its foundation? It is probably the image of the faith of former times replaced by a new faith that is broader and hospitably accords a welcome to the conquests of science and is thereby rendered only more solid and more indestructible. Otherwise, wherefore the old church and the new church? Pray, what is in "Peer Gynt,"—a piece, besides, which is very weak and but little adapted to the stage, which according to Mr. Brandes cannot be played and which, he says, has never been performed at Copenhagen (and that is a sign),—what is in "Peer Gynt," that scene of Peer Gynt amid the goblins, if the goblins are not his chimeras, his little, childish desires, his fantastic ideas, and his shifting moods? Otherwise the scene is decidedly too puerile and more insignificant than the most insipid scene in a puppet play for children of seven years of age. In "Emperor and Galilean" what is the sun,—for the sun is there a personage,—but the glorious personification of the ideal of beauty and liberty as conceived by the pagan world, or as the pagan world is supposed by the author to have conceived it? Here we have, without doubt, a rather clear bit of symbolism; otherwise the sun in "Emperor and Galilean" can be only foreign to the work, a wholly gratuitous and redundant element. You must admit that that is hardly probable.



The symbols of Ibsen, for of course we are to admit that there are symbols in Ibsen's art, are of the most various. In this respect he has a fertility which has been exaggerated by those who seek for a symbol in each of his pages and who find it, because they put it there themselves, a thing easily done; but, nevertheless, he has a fertility which is very great, which is one of his elements of strength, and, to go no farther, which is his peculiar poetical manner. Yes, doubtless, as Mr. Brandes will have it, Ibsen is above all a realist, a man who sees clearly and exactly the interesting individuals that pass before his eyes, and who reproduces them with an accuracy now rather free and general and again rather minute. But he is also a very keen psychologist, who can go below the surface of things into the secret recesses of the soul, who descends into hearts with a lantern, as Madame de Sévigné said of Nicole and who can illumine them in their depths. And he is also a man of ideas, a man of theses, who tries to demonstrate, prove, convince, and persuade. Finally he is, on the other hand, although not necessarily so in all of his plays, a creator of symbols.

A realist, psychologist, ideologist, and symbolist, such are the various aspects of Ibsen. And I say that symbolism is Ibsen's peculiar poetical manner in the drama. Others, like Shakespeare, are poets by reason of their fanciful imagination, in the sad or pleasing reveries of their personages, in the sudden and capricious starts and flight of their personages toward the realm of dreams. Others, like Corneille, are so by virtue of that peculiar kind of eloquence which at times is so energetic and spontaneous in its outbursts and so ardent that it really becomes lyric in character, or by reason of those pictures so vast, so wide stretching, and so well colored, of a state of the world at such or such a period, that the dramatist is fancied a fresco painter suddenly become great. Others, like Racine, are so in many ways, but especially in virtue of the kind of background, the long and spacious avenues which they open, behind their characters, out upon the desert Orient, toward the sea of Crete, into the windings of the labyrinth, to the stationary fleets of Europe, and to the heterogeneous nations which Mithridates has just passed through or with which the Sultan of Bajazet does battle. Ibsen is so by reason of his symbols. It is in them that he gives free rein to his poetic faculty, and through them he satisfies it. Still, his psychological and realistic drama, in spite of its depths, would be or would seem to be too varied, would interest only a psychological curiosity or the powers of reflection,—though this in itself would be something,—if the symbol, exciting an imaginative curiosity and satisfying it when understood or even when only apprehended, did not complete the æsthetic enjoyment and thus permit

the dramatist to interest, invade, master, and enrich the whole mind of the spectator.

I have said that the symbols of Ibsen vary much from one another. I have already cited some of them. I shall dwell upon some others as seeming to me, some of them incontestable, and some most peculiarly significative. For example, in "Rosmersholm," northern nature, northern nature in its entirety, with its savageness, its immense expanse of space, its broad horizons, its lofty heavens, is the symbol, to my mind, of the moral liberty to which aspire several characters of the play, as, indeed, half of Ibsen's characters do. Again, at the end of "Ghosts" there is young Oswald Alving who, a prey to the terrors of a nervous disease, after having asked his mother for the liberating poison, sees the sun slowly break through the mists, and exclaims several times over, "The Sun! The Sun! Mother, give me the Sun!" The sun must symbolize the end of suffering, deliverance, emancipation for a poor being who is at the bottom of that dark and hideous gulf called neurasthenia. On this point there has been a rather curious discussion. Mr. Brandes, who has made up his mind, who started with his mind made up, and who persists in refusing to see any kind of a symbol in Ibsen, has jeered at the French æsthetes who saw a symbol in the sun at the end of "Ghosts," and has said to them with a certain brutal directness, "Oswald asks for the poison and for nothing but the poison; but, as he becomes crazy, he employs one word for another, and he says *sun* for *poison*, and there is nothing more to it, and one must have the subtlety of insanity to see anything else in it."

But I beg pardon! If Oswald had said to his mother, "Give me the poison. Give me the tongs. The tongs! The tongs!" we could indeed see in his words only the incoherency of a poor lunatic. But the author takes the trouble to make the sun rise. He takes the trouble to put into his text the words, "The sun is rising. On the horizon the mountains and the plain are resplendent with the morning rays." Therefore, unless he himself has something of the mental aberration of Oswald, we may believe that he attributes a certain importance to the sudden intervention of so considerable a character as the sun, and that, consequently, when he makes Oswald exclaim, "The Sun! Give me the Sun!" it is not at all as though he made him say, "Give me the ladle," or "Give me the sugar-grater." Evidently there is something more present. It is not any chance word that Oswald utters as a result of his delirium, after having asked for poison. It is a word corresponding to the appearance of the sun on the horizon. Hence we have a good reason for believing that for Oswald the word has doubtless (and



here Mr. Brandes is right) no precise signification; but that it has one for the spectator and that it signifies a vague yearning for deliverance on the part of a being overwhelmed with evils and, so to speak, buried in the darkness of night. And so the sun at the end of "Ghosts" is certainly a symbol. We must not see too many things in it and we must not "suppose a million of words beneath it," but neither must we fail to see anything at all in it.

Elsewhere,—and God be praised for it,—the symbolism is of a more developed kind. In "The Wild Duck" there is a drake which, in fact, was wild, but which, having had its wing broken while being hunted, is kept in a dark garret in a tamed state. Reading the whole piece, one sees clearly enough that this drake is the image of man born for liberty, but condemned by the accidents of civilization and by the primitive, or rather acquired, weakness of his nature to live in servitude and in darkness. This is an idea savoring of Rousseau, like many ideas in Ibsen and in Tolstoi, too, and Rousseau is the Frenchman who has exercised most influence on the whole of European literature during the nineteenth century.

In "The Lady from the Sea" the symbolical personage is a larger one. It is the sea itself, considered as the representative of liberty! A young woman is constantly beset and haunted by a desire and, as it were, by a feeling of homesickness for the sea. She dwells on the sea in her thoughts, as, against her will, she dwells on land with her body. She says somewhere, "Do you not think that men once lived on the sea and perhaps in the sea, and that they have been condemned to become earth dwellers?" Here a certain degree of ill will would be requisite not to see a symbol in the sea, since the text takes the trouble to explain and to comment upon the symbol. We have the text with its translation on the opposite page. The sea is liberty; the earth is liberty lost. The sea is Israel; the earth is Babylon. The symbolism is here within the reach of any one. The sun, the sea, a house, the whole of northern nature, a drake, these are symbols of very varying kinds.

In a certain other drama the symbolical object is not a being, nor is it a monument of any importance. It is an object quite small and ordinary. In "Hedda Gabler," Hedda burns, leaf by leaf, Loevborg's manuscript. Hedda is a despotic, jealous, and wicked egoist, who cannot permit a human being to live for anything but herself. Loevborg, whom she formerly despised, has become very great. He has written a book containing marvelous secrets for the development of civilization and the welfare of mankind. Hedda, at the same time deforming and degrading the soul of Loevborg, has obtained this book still in the manuscript and

she is seen destroying it bit by bit. What does that mean? There are two explanations, if you will, but we shall see that they are easily reduced to a single one. This manuscript is the very soul of Loevborg, which Hedda undermines and destroys by her pernicious influence. This manuscript is future civilization, which human egoism, human wickedness, human jealousy, all the evil passions of humanity prevent from manifesting itself and, so to speak, burn in the very germ. But these two things are one and the same thing, for Loevborg is conceived as containing future civilization in his soul, and he who kills his thought kills at the same time his soul and future civilization, the human race of tomorrow.

Now we can see the process in full. A story is told. Parallel to it, there is placed a symbol, which gives an enlarged representation, a generalized image of this story, and which shows its full value, the whole of its ideological sense and all its bearing. This process is sometimes very clear, sharply defined, and emphasized as in the last two pieces that I have taken up. Sometimes it is but an impression, undecisive, lightly indicated, and then it may be open to doubt or debate. Sometimes, as in the "Enemy of the People," for example, it has not been employed.

Such is the symbolism of Ibsen. Ibsen is the only contemporary dramatist who has employed symbolism and consequently this article should stop here, but, as a result of that malady which consists in not defining terms, in leaving them vague in sense, in confounding them and applying them to things to which they have no application at all, it has happened that in France and elsewhere the words *symbolism* and *symbolical drama* have signified something entirely different from what I have just said, namely, they have been made to signify the absence of symbols and a drama in which there was no symbol.

As the real symbol, that which I have just defined and of which I have given examples taken from the dramas of Ibsen, has, among other effects, that, on the one hand, of *generalizing* the idea that it represents and, on the other, that of introducing into the work something that is a little mysterious, a little out of the way, a little indeterminate, a little indefinite, one passed rapidly enough, having once formed the habit of not defining to one's self the terms that are employed and of not knowing exactly what one meant, to the point of calling symbolical whatever was general or whatever was mysterious. Therefore, many things could be symbolical; almost everything could be so and especially, according to this confused conception of things, whatever was not strictly realistic became symbolical. For example, the term *symbolical* has been applied to characters representative of a vice or a virtue, and since as soon as one is full of a virtue or a vice one may pass as representing it, all typical



characters could be called symbolical, for example, Horace, Polyeucte, and Tartuffe, and it is into this very error that M. Pierre Weber fell in his letter to Sarcey with which I began, and in this error M. Sarcey encouraged him by his reply.

It was the habit at that time to say, "Here the character expands into a symbol." It is impossible for a character to expand into a sign, to expand into an image, and consequently to expand into a symbol. We should say, "The character broadens into a general type of humanity." Mr. Brandes himself has fallen into this error when, seeking to demonstrate that there is symbolism in M. Zola, which, moreover, is entirely true, he cites little Miette (in the "*Fortunes des Rougon*") as being a symbol, when she falls on a barricade, struck by a bullet, with her cloak turned inside out to display its red lining; it is not Miette that dies, it is the Republic; Miette is a symbol. She is not a symbol; she is a person that lives and dies and is the type of a whole party. Say that she is expanded into a collective being, but not into a symbol.

But you see the tendency. As a result of it, the term symbolical was applied to abstract personages, general personages, great personages, and, in short, all personages that were not strictly individual. At this rate, Homais and Madame Bovary were eminently symbolical personages.

On the other hand, it was the habit to call symbolical whatever was mysterious. Nothing equals, or at any rate surpasses, the incomprehensible rubbish at the beginning of a chapter of a book, otherwise good, devoted entirely to Ibsen. The chapter is entitled "The Symbolism of Ibsen." "Beyond the facts that wise men and philosophers have described and explained to us we divine a whole world of obscurity. We do not believe as the Greeks did in Truth issuing naked and radiant from her well. Modern Truth is a vague phantom which we exhaust when we seek to examine it. \* \* \* We bend with curiosity over the abyss whose depths have not yet been sounded; we are attracted towards the mysterious. There is in each of us a certain mysticism, a feeling for the infinite, and this feeling is too widespread for us to be able to see in it only a disease or a delusion. \* \* \* As nothing concerning man should remain foreign to literature, the latter should give a place to this obscure element which envelops our being and should rise to those heights to which we instinctively aspire. \* \* \* Symbolism is the form of art which satisfies at once our desire of seeing reality represented, and our desire of surpassing it. It fuses together the concrete and the abstract. Reality has something beneath it. Facts have a hidden sense; they are the material representation of ideas; the idea appears in the fact. Reality is the sensible image, the symbol of the invisible world."

All that means, if it means anything, that symbolism is the mysterious, and in fact, around 1890, it was the tendency, when there was anything mysterious in a work of art, to say that it was symbolism, and what was more simple still, when people did not understand a thing, to admire it first of all and then to say that it was essentially symbolical. Consequently the name symbolical drama has been given to the drama of M. Maeterlinck. Why has the drama of M. Maeterlinck, in which perhaps not a symbol could be found, however diligently we might seek and however intelligently we might try to put one in, been termed symbolical pretty much everywhere, and especially in France? Precisely for the two reasons indicated above which have nothing to do with symbolism. First, because it had something mysterious in it; second, because its personages had very general and almost abstract characters. M. Maeterlinck's drama is the very realm of mystery. Things are seen in it as if very far removed, very indeterminate, floating in a sort of luminous mist like objects on the distant horizon. The personages have, besides, that peculiar element of the mysterious which consists in the fact that we perceive,—and this is just the intention of the author,—that *their words are not the expression* of thoughts; that behind their words we must seek and divine their true thoughts, their real sentiments, which they dissemble and which they do not care to declare even to themselves, and in the presence of which they hesitate, shudder, or tremble. A great mystery, then, envelops in them things, personages, and words.

And there is just the danger, of course, but also the charm, the alluring and disturbing charm, and a very lively one it is, of all M. Maeterlinck's plays. On the other hand, the personages are very general and very abstract characters. They have very little individuality. They are hardly persons. They might be called the man in love, the woman in love, the jealous man, or even love, jealousy, timidity, sadness. Such personages in the "Roman de la Rose" were called Amant (Love), Rose (that is, Beauty), or Dangier (that is, Power). This is just where an admirer, expressing himself, however, in incorrect terms, would say that the personage "expands into a symbol." The truth is that it is expanded into an abstraction, or, rather, is volatilized into the abstract and the pure idea.

This drama, for one at all versed in dramatic literature, recalls at once the Indian drama. In both there is the same liking for the mysterious, the indeterminate, the unexplained, the same absence, I shall not say of psychology, but,—and purposely so,—of a *definite* psychology, such as one finds in Shakespeare and in the French tragic poets (and this is certainly the reason why M. Maeterlinck has said rather harsh things to



Shakespeare and has ended by finding him *gross*); there is the same art or rather the same faculty (but this is beside the question that now concerns us) of leaving the personages absorbed in a measure in the nature that surrounds them, of not detaching them from it, and of working out before our eyes the continuous story of the personages presented to us and of the bit of nature in which they are, so to speak, held and involved. A very strange drama it is, almost without action, almost a "statical drama," to employ an expression of the author, but it is one which often produces a great impression, exciting astonishment and a mysterious feeling of uneasiness. As to its being symbolical, I have explained at once both how it is not so, and why, in view of the uncertainty of many as to the real sense of the word *symbolism*, the statement has been made here and there that it was so.

To sum up, the symbolical drama is one that uses signs, animate and inanimate representations, to express, apart from what the personages say and do, certain ideas relating to the play, and, most often, the essential, the central, idea of the play. Symbolism is in no wise necessary to the drama; it is less necessary to the drama than to all the other arts, since the drama has words in which to express its ideas,—to say naught of the actions, the gestures, and even the physiognomies of the personages. On this account, symbolism is rather dangerous in the drama, since one of two things may happen: it may be superfluous, expressing ideas which the words of the characters also express; or if it does not thus repeat ideas, the spectator may be tempted to say, "why do you not have expressed by one of your characters what your symbol expresses, for your characters would express it more clearly than the symbol can?" Nevertheless, the symbol may be an ornament, an additional interpreter of the author's thought, and an ornament is never superfluous if it is fair and well chosen. Besides, it may happen that what is natural for no character to express, through timidity, lack of intellectual depth, or the necessity of the situation, the author may himself say through the interpretation, as it were, of a symbol, and in this case the symbol plays a part analogous, I say only analogous, to that of the chorus in the ancient Greek tragedy. Finally, the symbol is above all a means for the dramatic poet to give full expression to the poetry in his soul. That is its chief office. It is a direct product of the poetic faculty of the author, and not at all an artifice, or an expedient, or a motive factor; in Ibsen it is essentially a direct product of the author's poetic faculty. It may often happen that, when a dramatic author is at the same time a poet, he may employ a symbol, or, rather, may create one unconsciously, without any fixed idea or precise intention, and as the rose tree creates the rose. Up

to the present, however, with the exception of some rather awkward French imitators, who, for the very reason that they are imitators, do not count, Ibsen is the only dramatic poet to write symbolical dramas, that is to say, dramas into which a symbol is introduced occasionally, by way of explanation or commentary or as an element of beauty.



# PORFIRIO DIAZ: SOLDIER AND STATESMAN

JOHN W. FOSTER

WASHINGTON

**W**HEN the political events of this hemisphere for the past fifty years are reviewed it must be conceded that the subject of this paper is the first of all living Americans. During this period others who have passed from the stage of action have borne a more prominent part in public affairs, but, of those now living, no one has had such a varied and distinguished career, or accomplished as much for the good of his country and race as Porfirio Diaz of Mexico.

His public services cover three important epochs in his country's history. In his early manhood he took an active part in what is known as the "War of the Reform," the struggle of the liberal republicans against the clerical party, which resulted in the absolute separation of the church and state and the establishment of complete religious freedom, in which course Mexico was the pioneer of the Latin-American States. He was a prominent leader in resisting the attempt of the emperor of the French to overthrow republican government and establish a monarchy in America, and he came out of that great contest as its most brilliant soldier. His mature years have been devoted to rehabilitating his country after half a century of strife and disorder, and pointing out the way to the other Spanish-American republics of orderly government and prosperity.

The youthful environment and education of one who has borne so conspicuous a part in the history of an important section of this hemisphere are interesting and instructive. Diaz was born in the city of Oaxaca, the capital of one of the southern states of Mexico, situated in a most beautiful and fertile upland valley in the midst of attractive scenery and historic associations. The great Andean range, coming up from the South American continent, is crowded in by the two oceans and somewhat depressed as it passes through the Isthmus of Panama, but as it emerges from the narrow neck of Tehuantepec into the wide expanse of North America, apparently glad of its escape from the ocean barriers, it again shoots up its peaks towards the sky, and branches off into two grand mountain chains, which like the brawny arms of a giant lift Mexico up on to those elevated table-lands formerly the seat of the Aztec Empire.

At the separation of these two arms, five thousand feet above the sea level, shut in by mountain ranges, lies the valley of Oaxaca. I well remember a journey made to that region twenty-five years ago, before the

era of railroads, when, after traveling for days on horseback across sierras and intervening valleys, I at last gained one of those high elevations which afforded a wide-spreading view, seemingly almost from one ocean to the other. In the midst of a wilderness of mountains, range followed range in apparently never ending succession, interspersed with valleys which might rival Alpine loveliness, with the added charm of tropical luxuriance. From such an elevation I had my first view of the far famed valley of Oaxaca, the birthplace of General Diaz. It was an inspiring scene. This was the home of the Zapotecan race which never was subdued by the Aztec emperors. Not far away from the city of Oaxaca lies the ruins of Mitla, among the most interesting and best preserved of the art wonders of a cultured race anterior to the Zapotecs. To these latter belonged Benito Juarez, the Indian president of Mexico, and this valley was the home of some of the most distinguished men in Mexican history. In the midst of such surroundings Porfirio Diaz spent his youth and early manhood.

He was born in 1830, of parentage mostly of Spanish origin, but with a tincture of Indian blood, his great-grandmother having been a pure Zapotecan. Mexico never was cursed with African slavery, and there is absolutely no race prejudice among its people. A pure Indian, Juarez, was their president and greatest hero, and that race has contributed a large contingent of the nation's ablest men to the church, to the state, to the learned professions as well as to literature. The trace of Indian blood in his veins gives a tinge to his physiognomy and character of which Diaz is not ashamed.

His father was a man in comfortable circumstances, but as he died soon after the birth of his son, the care and training fell upon the mother, a woman of strong character who exercised a powerful influence on her son's career. He early evinced that alertness of spirit and intellect which marked his later life, and it attracted the attention of the bishop. His mother, being a devout daughter of the church, readily consented to his dedication to its service, and he progressed nearly to the end of the priestly curriculum of study in the ecclesiastical seminary of his native city.

About that period an important event occurred in his life. Benito Juarez, who was destined to lead the nation in the great "War of Reform" and against the French intervention, was then governor of the state. In that capacity he met Diaz while attending the school examination. The brightness of the youth attracted the governor's attention and he became enlisted in his advancement. Even then Juarez had begun his contest against the clerical party, and feeling that the educa-



tion of the youth should not be wholly in the hands of the church he had been instrumental in the establishment of a state institute. Young Diaz soon caught the liberal spirit of the governor and his party, and he abandoned the career in the clergy to which he had been dedicated, joined the state institute, and devoted himself to the study of the law.

Meanwhile the martial spirit ingrained in his nature had its first manifestation at the early age of seventeen while he was yet in school. The invading army of the United States had completely defeated the Mexican forces organized by Santa Anna, had occupied the capital, and the governor of Oaxaca had made a second call for troops to resist the invader. Diaz was one of the first to offer his services, and entered the ranks, but before the new levies could take the field peace had been made with the loss of half the territory of the nation. Diaz completed his law studies and entered the office of his patron, Juarez, who had retired from the post of governor and resumed the practice of his profession. And now a second event occurred to change the current of his life.

Santa Anna, that turbulent character, who had borne such a prominent and baleful part in the revolutionary period of Mexican history, had for the last time usurped power and was ruling the country with a high hand. Juarez, who had shown his opposition to this evil spirit in the past, was seized while arguing a case in court, imprisoned, and finally banished from the country. Young Diaz warmly resented this outrage and having to flee the capital for his life, he at once took up arms and entered into the revolutionary movement which drove Santa Anna from power. He attained such prominence in this movement that he was made Jefe Politico, or civil chief, of one of the districts of the state of Oaxaca. But the peace of the country was soon broken again by the pronunciamiento of the "Plan of Ayutla," which was the beginning of the liberal contest for the separation of the church from the state.

The War of the Reform began in 1857. It continued for three years and was waged on both sides with the most relentless bitterness and cruelty. Never before in all its bloody history had the nation been so stirred up or witnessed such scenes of carnage. It pervaded every section of the country and all classes of society, and there was hardly a village or neighborhood in the entire republic that was not made the theatre of some conflict or had not its story of violence and disorder. It is a dreary narrative which need not be repeated here. Diaz then in the full flush of his young manhood did not hesitate to rank himself on the side of the patron of his school days, Juarez, and the liberal party, and to throw himself with all his energies into the armed contest. His part in the campaign was mainly in his native state, and the adjoining district of

Tehuantepec. When the triumph came in 1860, with the entrance of the liberal forces and government into the City of Mexico, he had so distinguished himself as to reach the rank of colonel.

With the success of the cause for which he had battled, Diaz returned to private life and resumed the practice of the law, but he was not permitted by his fellow citizens to carry out his plans for he was elected a member of the national congress and sent to the City of Mexico. The task before him and the liberal leaders now seemed to be simply to reconstruct by peaceful methods of civil administration the various departments of government, to put in practice the liberal principles which had triumphed, and to carry out the "Laws of Reform." But this proved to be only the first chapter in the narrative of the reform movement in Mexico. Much as the people had endured, and great and costly as the price had been, which the nation had paid to attain its constitutional privileges, it is sad to know that another campaign of blood and suffering against even a more formidable foe was almost immediately to be entered upon.

From the beginning of the Mexican war of independence there had existed in that country a monarchical party. It had always been in the minority, and was generally composed of malcontents, but it also embraced a considerable portion of the higher clergy and landed proprietors, who remembered the (to them) golden days of Spanish rule with its class privileges, and who looked upon the liberal tendencies of the republican party with suspicion and dread. It is true that the transient empire of Iturbide was scarcely less than a ridiculous farce, established through perjury and hypocrisy, and that its brief existence was an evidence that the great body of the Mexicans are thorough republicans; still its existence was an indication of a certain monarchical sentiment. As early as 1840 Gutierrez Estrada, a well known Mexican statesman, prominent afterwards in securing the acceptance of the crown by Maximilian, proclaimed at home and in Europe the incapacity of the Mexicans for self-government, and advocated the establishment of a monarchy and the placing of a European prince on the throne; in 1854 Santa Anna authorized such a project, and at various other times it was proposed to the Spanish and French rulers by disappointed and exiled Mexicans.

After the overthrow of the church party in 1860 a concerted movement was made to carry out this long projected measure. The archbishop of Mexico had been banished; Miramon, the chief of the clerical party, had fled to Spain and was received with consideration at the court of Queen Isabella; Almonte, one of the ablest and most experienced of the conservative politicians, was in Paris. These and a number of



other Mexican refugees, foiled in the arena of politics and defeated on the field of battle, had appealed the question of Mexican government and independence to the courts of European sovereigns. They proclaimed everywhere the incapacity of their countrymen for self-government; they narrated with holy horror the sacriligious confiscation of the property of the church; they exaggerated the disorders and lawlessness; and, to fill the cup of their country's calamities, they cited the fact that a pure Indian had usurped the government of a people once ruled by the proud Castilians.

These refugees appeared at a time when it well suited the purposes of Louis Napoleon to listen to their story. His empire was at the height of its power and prestige, and after the happy results of his Italian campaign he was looking for some field in which to employ a part of his large army and keep the attention of the French people diverted from internal politics by military adventure abroad. Hence his scheme for a Latin empire on the American continent which was to be a bulwark of the Catholic faith and a check to the spirit of American republicanism.

Under the pretext that Mexico had repudiated its just obligations to various foreign creditors, and that there was no government capable of affording proper protection to foreign residents, Napoleon was able to secure the coöperation of Great Britain and Spain in what is known as the tripartite expedition in 1861 for the avowed purpose of restoring order and enforcing the just claims of their respective subjects. But the real designs of Napoleon were soon apparent to his two allies, and they, unwilling to be made the dupes of his ambition, withdrew their forces and left him to pursue his schemes with the aid of his Mexican adherents in the clerical party.

For a second time Diaz laid aside his professional duties of the law and again buckled on his sword in defence of his party and his country. He was commissioned by Juarez, the president, as a general, assigned to the command of a brigade, and sent forward to resist the advance of the French on the capital of the nation. Their general had been led to believe that the Mexican people were only waiting his advance to throw off the hated yoke of the liberal party, and that they would rise "en masse" to welcome him as their liberator. Diaz and others were able to retard his advance upon Puebla until that place, under the command of General Zaragoza, had been put in a good state of defence. On May 5, 1862, the French general made his attack with great confidence of success, but he met with a most gallant resistance, and after repeated assaults, was repelled at all points with great slaughter, and was compelled to retreat to Orizaba. In this engagement Diaz held one of the most exposed points of attack and acquitted himself with great credit.

The Mexicans justly claim this as one of their great victories, and it is annually celebrated with patriotic demonstrations. Its effect was to show Napoleon that the treasonable designs of the clerical party would find no considerable support among the Mexican people, but that on the contrary they were ready to defend the independence of the country, and were able to face the veterans of the Crimean and Italian campaigns. It was plain that the task he had undertaken was destined to tax the resources of his empire to the utmost. It required nearly twelve months for him to reinforce and reorganize his army for another campaign, but in March, 1863, the largest and best equipped army ever seen in Mexico moved forward and again began the attack upon Puebla. The hero of the fifth of May, Zaragosa, had died of disease, cut off in his early manhood, and General Ortega, an experienced soldier, was in command, supported by Diaz and other experienced generals. The imperialists, wiser from their headlong assault of the year before, laid regular siege to the city and made their approaches with care. It was a brave but hopeless resistance on the part of the Mexicans, who, after a gallant defence of two months, were compelled to succumb to the superior skill, numbers, and military resources of the French. The valorous conduct of Diaz during the siege greatly exalted him in the estimation of his soldiers, and when the capitulation took place he refused to join in it, and escaped in order to be free to continue the contest.

The way to the City of Mexico now lay open to the invader, so that Juarez and the republican government withdrew to Queretaro, and in successive stages, as the large French columns advanced, to the more northern cities of the interior. Diaz had come out of the siege of Puebla with great prestige, and Juarez tendered him the post of secretary of war, but he declined it on the ground that it would not be just to the older and more experienced generals that one so young as he should take such an important post. He was, however, made a general of division, the then highest grade in the Mexican army, and he was assigned to the command of the east and south, embracing the important states of Vera Cruz and Oaxaca. It was a dark outlook for the republican government when the powerful French army, supported by the clericals, began its task of subduing the country, but the steady constancy and courage of Juarez and his supporters did not fail in this emergency. The president issued an appeal to the nation, in the closing words of which he said, "Let us have faith in the justice of our cause; let us have faith in our own efforts; and united we will save the independence of Mexico, causing not only our country to triumph, but also the principles of respect for and the inviolability of the sovereignty of nations."



The story of the four years' contest which followed cannot be told in detail here. The farce of the so-called Mexican Empire, with the crown upon the head of the Austrian Archduke Maximilian, flourished for a time, while the solid French columns chased the fleeing republican government from one city of the interior to another, till Juarez could only find lodgement at the extreme corner of the republic within sight of the Stars and Stripes at Paso del Norte. But even there he was undismayed and addressed his countrymen in these words, "The hour of triumph will come, do not doubt it, Mexicans, as it came to our fathers, the conquerors of 1821. Let us hope, but let us hope working with the heroic revolution of Hidalgo and Zaragosa, with the activity of Morelos, and with the constancy and self-denial of Guerrero, keeping alive and increasing the holy fire which must produce the conflagration that will consume the tyrants and the traitors who profane our soil."

The same spirit which animated Juarez and his followers in the north, was inspiring Diaz and his compatriots in the south, under much the same adverse circumstances. For a time he held undisputed control of the state of Oaxaca, but eventually the French legions were sent against him. He fortified the city and awaited the attack of the enemy who besieged the place with greatly superior numbers but without success. Finally Marshal Bazaine came in person and conducted the siege. He sought to buy off Diaz with the promise of high rank and power in the new empire, but rejecting the offer the young general continued his heroic defence. Finally, with no hope of relief, overpowering numbers and hunger forced him to capitulate. Refusing to take the oath of allegiance to the new government, he was carried as a prisoner to Puebla, the scene of his former contests, and placed in a dungeon. After some time he effected his escape, and fled to the fastnesses of his native state; there he quickly organized forces at different points with which he maintained a spirited guerilla warfare.

But the hour of triumph which Juarez had so confidently predicted finally dawned. While the latter with constantly increasing forces was advancing from the north, Diaz was able to drive the imperialists out of Oaxaca. Establishing there his base of operations, he gathered an army with which he laid seige to Puebla, and after encountering a stout resistance, had the great satisfaction of capturing the city from which he had been driven four years before. The French troops, upon an intimation from the American minister in Paris to the emperor that their presence in Mexico would no longer be permitted, had been withdrawn from the country, and Maximilian was left to his fate. While the hapless archduke was making a heroic but hopeless resistance at Queretaro, Diaz,

flushed with his victory at Puebla, laid siege to the City of Mexico, but being unwilling to carry it by storm awaited the result at Queretaro which would doubtless close the terrible conflict. It came soon, and the gates of the national capital were opened to Diaz and his victorious troops.

President Juarez reëntered the City of Mexico, reëstablished the republican government, and began the task of restoring the wasted resources of the country. Diaz came out of the contest the idol of the army. Other of the generals had borne equally as important parts in the war, but his reckless daring in battle, his romantic experience in siege and prison, his restless activity and chivalrous bearing made him the hero in the day of triumph. Juarez would gladly have assigned him a high post in the government, but he preferred to return to his old home and enjoy its quiet after more than ten years of almost continuous military service. During the war he had met and wooed in his native city a daughter of one of its leading citizens, to whom he had been married by proxy, according to the custom of the country, while conducting the last siege of Puebla, and he was anxious to join her and set up his own homestead. The city of Oaxaca received him with great demonstrations of honor and gratitude, the state voted him the title of "benemerito," and gave him as part reward for his services the sugar estate of La Noria, to which he retired for the next few years becoming an "hacendado" or agriculturist.

Subsequent events, however, lead to the surmise that the retired general had not altogether dismissed thought of the public service. He was only thirty-seven years of age, in robust health and mental vigor, with a brilliant military record, and had already displayed much aptitude for administrative affairs. Juarez, because of the prolonged war, had held the executive chair beyond the constitutional term, and the election of a president of the republic was one of the first steps in the reorganization of the government. Juarez seemed the natural choice of the country for this work, but he had already held the office for ten consecutive years and there was a large party in the nation who felt that he should give way for another ruler. This party turned instinctively to the military hero as their candidate, and Diaz found himself by the action of his friends arrayed against his old patron and leader as his political adversary.

The campaign was an exciting one resulting in the reëlection of Juarez, but the electoral machinery was all in the hands of his own officials, and Diaz and his adherents felt that he was the real choice of the people. Mutterings of discontent were heard all over the country, and some of the Diaz partisans, following the practice so common in that



era, sought to organize a revolutionary movement, but he remained quietly in his own home at La Noria and took no part in the movement. When the four years' term of Juarez was drawing to a close in 1871 it became evident that it was his intention to again seek reelection. The Diaz party once more put him in nomination, and Lerdo, the chief of the Juarez cabinet, was also a candidate. The result of the action of the electoral college was that no candidate had a majority, and the national congress declared Juarez president, who had then held the office for fourteen years in succession.

Diaz could hold his peace no longer. He issued an address to the country known as the "Pronunciamento of La Noria," in which he protested against the abuse of the electoral methods and declared for an amendment of the constitution prohibiting the reelection of the person holding the presidency. Thenceforth he was regarded as an enemy of the existing government. Much dissatisfaction and disorder followed, but peace was restored by the sudden death of Juarez in 1872, and all his errors were forgotten in the general grief of the country over the loss of the great leader of the reform and the champion of republicanism. Lerdo, who was the constitutional successor, ordered a new election for president, and Diaz acquiesced in the choice of the former without contesting for the place. But as the term of Lerdo approached its close it became evident to Diaz that the president was arranging that the power of the government should be used for his reelection. Diaz claimed that he had been twice elected by the people and "counted out," and he announced that as it was useless to appeal again to the country by the electoral methods he would resist the reelection by force of arms. He set on foot his revolutionary movement on the Rio Grande frontier, having entered the country from the United States, but, by the quick concentration of the administration forces, the few partisans he had gathered were soon overpowered and he had to seek protection in American territory.

His resourceful character and daring were exhibited in the plan which he now resolved to carry out. He went to New Orleans and took passage on the mail steamer for Vera Cruz, disguised as a Cuban doctor, en route to his native state where he expected to raise again the standard of revolt. The steamer touched first at the Mexican port of Tampico, where a number of government officials who knew him well took passage for Vera Cruz. Feeling sure that he would be recognized, he resolved to throw himself into the sea and swim ashore, notwithstanding the water was infested with sharks. The vessel lay about four miles from the coast, but he was a good swimmer and boldly undertook the task.

The cry of "man overboard" soon brought a boat alongside of him and he was taken back onto the steamer. He now felt sure his identity would be established, but he found a good friend in the purser of the vessel, who concealed him in his cabin, threw a life preserver into the water which was picked up, and the report given out that the Cuban doctor had made a second attempt and was drowned. Thus throwing the officers off guard, he reached Vera Cruz, and although the vessel was surrounded by a cordon of boats filled with government troops, he quietly went ashore disguised as a sailor, passed through the city and adjoining country held by the government, reaching Oaxaca in safety.

Here, under better auspices he set up the standard of revolt, his friends and partisans rallied about him, and in a few weeks he had organized and equipped an army able to cope with the regular forces of the government. After several encounters in that state with the government forces, he advanced to the table-land leading to the City of Mexico, and fought the decisive battle of Tecuac, November 16, 1876, defeating the most skilful of Lerdo's generals, which placed the capital at his mercy. That it may be seen that Mexican battles are not bloodless, it suffices to state that in this engagement the killed and wounded amounted to four thousand, two hundred. Lerdo and his cabinet fled from the country taking refuge in the United States. Diaz at once assumed the place of provisional president, ordered an election, and was chosen without opposition for the constitutional term.

To a republican schooled in a country where the elections are free, where the peaceful and constitutional succession of government is observed, and where pronunciamientos are unknown, the revolutionary conduct of Diaz seems inexcusable. But it is sometimes best to judge acts of public men and of governments by their results. Over a half century ago we began a war with Mexico pronounced by history an unjust war, and we took from her half her territory, then a wilderness or desert. We point now to flourishing States and teeming cities and towns, the home of millions of industrious and happy people, as the justification of our conduct. Judged by this standard, the history of Mexico for the past twenty-five years furnishes an abundant justification for the conduct of Diaz.

During his first term of office the country enjoyed almost uninterrupted peace, an experience nearly unknown in the history of the republic. With peace came many blessings in its train, which the administrative ability of the president turned to the best account. But true to his announced policy, at the end of his term he retired from his post and transferred the power to his duly elected successor. But the choice



proved an unfortunate one and when the four years' term was about to expire the spontaneous and unanimous voice of the country called Diaz again to the presidency. His ability and statesmanship were even more conspicuous in his second than in his first term. But at its close he was placed in a most embarrassing position. We have seen that he attained power by revolutionary means and with the war-cry of "no reëlection." Under his administration the nation had enjoyed profound peace and all industries were flourishing as never before. All interests felt that the peace and prosperity of the country depended upon his continuance at the head of the government. With scarcely a murmur of dissent the constitution, into which a provision of non-reëlection had been inserted, was again amended by striking out this clause and Diaz was for the third time chosen president.

Again he had subjected himself to the criticism of history. But he can again point to the results of his administration as his defence. The limits of this paper will not permit their recital in detail during his successive terms up to the present time, and they are of such recent occurrence that they are familiar to the intelligent reader. An epitome of his administrative work must include the following: He has maintained peace and public order; he has given security to life and property; brought order out of the confusion of official life; kept the army faithful to the government and paid with regularity; restored public credit from absolute bankruptcy and repudiation; maintained peace with all nations; largely increased the revenues; materially reduced taxation; abolished antiquated impediments to trade; revived and enlarged commerce; created a network of railways; built up manufactures; greatly developed mining and agriculture; established a banking system and a safe and uniform currency; multiplied the public school system; improved the condition of the laboring classes; enforced religious liberty. When the fact is recalled that before he assumed the administration of affairs the country enjoyed few of these advantages and those only in a limited degree, the extent and importance of his services may be better estimated.

A man who can make such a record as this deservedly stands preëminent in his generation. Some of the elements of such a character may have been discerned in the foregoing narrative. It may be noted that he is a man of tireless industry and great capacity for the despatch of business, rising early in the morning and retiring early at night. He is of fine physique, usually of robust health, abstemious in his habits, and has great personal courage and self-reliance. He is intensely patriotic and conscientious in discharge of duty, a good judge of men, and owes much of his success to his able lieutenants. He is a soldier in his bearing,

rather than a man of society, frank and plain spoken, but possessing much of the genial manner and politeness of the Latin race which, with a sympathetic nature, attracts all who are brought in contact with him.

Domestic in his habits and fond of his home, he spends a portion of every year in the government apartments in the Castle of Chapultepec, but he spends most of the time in his own private house, a comfortable but by no means spacious or luxurious establishment. His wife died during his first presidential term, and some years afterwards he married a daughter of Senor Romero Rubio, one of the most prominent and accomplished of the public men of Mexico. Senora Diaz is a woman of charming manner, handsome and talented, with a perfect knowledge of English and French. Being a devout Catholic, she has bridged over the chasm of liberal principles which separated the champion of the reform laws from the church, and pleasant relations now exist between the government and the clergy.

General Diaz is seventy-three years of age. Although somewhat indisposed two or three years ago, he is now in good health and in full possession of his mental faculties. He has looked forward to the year 1904, when the period of his election to the presidency will expire, as the close of his public career. He has been sincerely desirous of spending the last years of his life, free from public cares, in the quiet enjoyment of his home and friends. But it seems that his countrymen are unwilling to give him this release from leadership, and there is a general demand that he shall accept the presidency for another term of four years. Mexicans know that under his administration the country will continue in the path of peace and prosperity. They are unwilling to place the government in untried hands so long as General Diaz can be induced to guide the ship of state.



# TRADE AGREEMENTS

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**P**ERHAPS the most interesting development, both from an ethical and an economic point of view, in industrial conditions is the trade agreement, an outcome of what is known as collective bargaining. It is only in recent years that these two terms have become known, and even now they are not generally understood. Collective bargaining takes place when a body of individuals, through its representatives, makes a contract, verbally or otherwise, with the representatives of another body of individuals,—that is, in industrial affairs, collective bargaining takes place when there is an agreement between the employers as a collection of men and the employees as another collection.

While the term is new, the practice is very old, at least as old as business corporations. A company organized to carry on a manufacturing business, or any other business which involves the employment of men, is composed of stockholders of large and small means. These stockholders are the owners of the business, but they are too numerous, as a rule, to conduct the business themselves. So they choose a committee to take care of their affairs. This committee is known usually as a board of directors, but the board of directors is too large a body to manage specific affairs, and it chooses a president, or a treasurer, or a manager, to have immediate supervision of the business owned by the numerous stockholders. The business manager is the only man recognized by or known to those who deal with the corporation, and every time he, the representative of the representatives of the owners, makes a bargain for the purchase of material, or for the sale of goods, or for the employment of men, or makes any other contract necessary to the proper conduct of the business with which he is charged, he indulges in collective bargaining.

When the employees of this corporation, who may number hundreds or perhaps thousands, wish to deal with the manager,—that is, with the corporation,—they choose a committee to represent them, because their numbers are too large for specific acts; but when the committee of the employees undertake to engage in collective bargaining by calling upon the manager of the corporation it is the habit of the manager to inform the committee of the employees that he cannot deal with a committee, but must deal with the individual members of the body of employees,

although he himself is exercising collective bargaining when he tells this to the committee. Sometimes, when this answer has been made to the committee representing the employees, and they have withdrawn, the manager has afterwards found it necessary to deal with the committee, and when he has sent for them he has been informed,—and properly, too, under the circumstances,—that the committee could not deal with him as the representative of the stockholders, but would deal with the individual stockholders themselves. Here the whole matter is reduced to an absurdity. It was absurd for the manager to take the position he did when he represented, in the concrete, collective bargaining, and it was absurd for the committee, except as a proper answer to the manager's absurdity, to say that they must deal with the individual stockholders.

Happily, this condition is passing away, and the representative of the stockholders recognizes the necessity of dealing with the representatives of the employees of the corporation in order to secure the most satisfactory results. The assertion of Mr. J. P. Morgan during the great steel strike of 1901 is that which is being accepted at the present time. He asserted that he was not hostile to organized labor; that he looked upon it with favor, to the extent that he preferred a well organized and administered trade union as the medium through which contracts for wages and other conditions of employment could be made, rather than the chaotic and unreliable results following arrangements with individual workmen.

Great corporations engaged in production and in transportation are now recognizing this principle of collective bargaining as the true one, and are conforming to the logical result of such bargaining by entering into what are known as trade agreements, whereby all the conditions of labor involved are adjusted by well drawn detailed agreements. We have not had the experience in this country with such agreements as have obtained in Great Britain and some other countries, but principally in Great Britain. It is safe to say, however, that at the present time there is no method suggested, whereby strikes and lockouts, boycotts and black-listings, and all the interminable difficulties which grow out of unrecognized demands, which holds out so much hope for industrial peace as the trade agreement.

The labor question, in all its breadth, is not the subject of any empirical solution. There is no panacea by which all men can be treated with perfect justice and capital and labor each receive its exact and equitable share of production. Individual temperament, individual ambition, and all the desire to raise one's standard of life, will constantly bring up more and more questions as time goes on, so that when one problem or series of problems peculiar to one age or period is fairly settled through



evolutionary processes and such rational helps as may be brought into existence, new and higher problems will arise, when old methods will be ineffective. This does not mean that there is no hope in the labor situation; on the other hand, it means that there is the greatest hope, because it is only through growth from position to position that society advances. It is, nevertheless, the duty of all, legislators and students, to make every effort possible to extend and to apply helpful measures all along the line of advancement.

This the trade agreement does; and to ascertain whether or not it has been successful it is necessary to consider its history as well as its aims. In this direction we find the richest material in the experience of Great Britain. Our country is in practically the same position industrially, so far as labor conflicts are concerned, that England was in twenty-five or thirty years ago. Her manufacturers and employers, generally, have had to pass through all that we are now contending with, and, in connection with their employees, have in large measure worked out processes and methods which have been of the greatest benefit. Great Britain is not free from strikes, and probably will not be in this century, but, with rare exceptions, they are not so harsh nor so disastrous to the interests involved as they were formerly. We can, therefore, look to her experience with profit and, in this direction of trade agreements, learn much.

A few instances of the resort to the trade agreement must suffice for an article of this character. One of the largest and most wide reaching controversies among English workmen in recent years was that between the Amalgamated Society of Engineers (machinists) and the Employers' Federation of Engineering Associations in 1897. The immediate cause of the conflict was the demand for an eight hour day. Back of the year named there had been much friction and unsatisfactory contentions. The story is a long and an interesting one, but the conflict ended, after various conferences and at a cost to the men in the funds of the Amalgamated Society of more than one million, one hundred thousand dollars, in the adoption of an agreement, which was accepted by a vote of twenty-eight thousand, five hundred and eighty-eight to thirteen thousand, nine hundred and twenty-seven. The agreement provided, among other essential things, that every workman should be free to belong to a trade union or not, as he might see fit, and that every employer should be free to employ any man, whether he belonged to a union or not. Collective bargaining, crystallized into a trade agreement, was also adopted, and to avoid future disputes it was agreed that deputations of workmen should be received by their employers, for the purpose of discussing questions involving both parties, and that in case of a disagreement the local

associations of employers would negotiate with the local officials of the trade unions. Either party might bring forward grievances for discussion, etc.

The Miners' Federation of Great Britain, consisting of over two hundred and thirty thousand financial members, after many conflicts, adopted rules to constitute a board of conciliation for the coal trade of the federated districts. This board was to have the regulation from time to time of the rates of wages and to hear all questions which might be brought before it.

The Northumberland Miners' Mutual Confident Association, which was established in 1863, has a joint committee in connection with employers, the object of which is to discuss all questions relating to wages, practices of working, or any other subject which may arise from time to time in any particular colliery, and, moreover, to consider all disputes and hear evidence, and to render final decision.

The boot and shoe trades of Leicester and of Northampton have also adopted similar practices. The Federated Associations of Boot and Shoe Manufacturers of Great Britain and the National Union of Boot and Shoe Operatives have had much difficulty, but they now have rules which regulate them. In some cases they have been subjected to fine where there has been any breach of agreement. These agreements relate in some measure to the Leicester and the Northampton conciliation and arbitration boards, which are among the best examples of trade agreements. They provide that when a dispute cannot be settled between an employer and his workmen, or the representatives of both, the same rates of wages, or hours of labor, or conditions of employment that obtained prior to the dispute shall continue until a decision is given by the committee of inquiry, or board, as the case may be; and they provide, further, that there shall be no suspension of work, at the instigation of either employers or workmen, the main object of the board being to prevent suspension. There are certain provisions to the effect that if suspension of work really does take place, the board may refuse to inquire into the matter in dispute till work is resumed, while the fact of its having been interrupted will be taken into account on considering the question.

The North of England Manufactured Iron and Steel Trades have excellent rules and by-laws for the government of committees in considering grievances which may be presented by either the employers or the employed. So in iron mining, in the boiler making trade, in the iron and shipbuilding trades, in the Scottish manufactured iron trade, in the Nottingham lace trade (one of the first to indulge in conciliatory methods), in the cotton trade, and in the potteries and dyeing trades, employers and



employees have resorted to collective bargaining as represented by the trade agreement. The rules and by-laws of the London Conciliation Board, which deals with many trades, have been effective in the settlement and adjustment of many difficulties.

The experience of all these trades, and many others, in some instances extending over a period of twenty-five years or more, demonstrates most emphatically the possibilities that lie in the trade agreement. When it is known that since the adoption of such agreements many of these trades have had no strikes whatever, the conclusion that they are effective cannot be avoided.

On the continent of Europe this method has not been adopted so fully as in Great Britain, and yet in many of the continental countries it is finding its way. From a recent report of Hans Fehlinger on organized labor in Austria, it is learned that at the fourth Austrian trade union congress a resolution was adopted recommending the system of joint trade agreements as a satisfactory method of securing industrial peace. This resolution was based not merely on theoretical grounds, but came as the result of experience in various industries through a period long enough to convince those who have participated in the work that by industrial conciliation many troubles can be averted, and both sides, employers and workmen, profit thereby.

Mr. Fehlinger further reports that collective bargaining is favored in Austria by those trades having relatively strong organizations of workmen, as well as of employers, and that in the twelve years of the joint agreement in the printing trade there has not been a strike or lockout, except occasionally in a single office, such minor difficulties soon being settled by the officers of the unions. The first of this sort of trade agreements was entered upon only after a prolonged strike, but there are indications now that the experience in the printing trade will be observed with profit by other industries. In recent years, and also in the first half of the present year, a number of joint agreements was reached in Austria, and thus industrial peace secured in some of the crafts involved. Mr. Fehlinger confidently looks for an increasing number of collective trade agreements in Austria.

In this country such agreements have been in existence for from twelve to fifteen years, but more recently the number has been multiplied. Among the principal employers who have made such agreements with trade unions, are the National Founders' Association of New York, the National Founders' Association of Detroit, the Allis-Chalmers Machine Company of Chicago, the Comstock-Castle Stove Company of Quincy, Ill., the National Stove Manufacturers, the Boston Globe Newspaper

Company, the American Newspaper Publishers' Association, the Indianapolis "Sentinel," Mark A. Hanna & Co. of Cleveland, many of the Illinois coal operators, the Master Builders' Association of Boston, and many others.

The experience of all these has been gratifying indeed. In some instances, especially with the founders' and the stove manufacturers' associations, the agreements have existed for a period of ten or twelve years, and under them there have been no strikes. Of course, occasionally there will be a breach of contract, but the breaches which have occurred have been so rare as to have no effect upon the rule.

During the great coal strike of last year an attempt was made to have the United Mine Workers' Union, one of the largest trade unions in the world, forfeit its contracts with the Illinois bituminous coal operators. To this end a convention was held in Indianapolis. It was thought by many that by forfeiting the contracts an influence would be obtained which would result in favorable settlement of the anthracite troubles, but in the convention it was nearly a unanimous vote that the contracts entered into by the miners with the bituminous operators should be held sacred, and this in face of the fact that, on account of the famine in the anthracite coal trade, there was such a demand for bituminous coal that the prices of that article were greatly enhanced and the profits of the operators increased accordingly, while the wages of the bituminous miners were not affected by such enhanced prices.

Notwithstanding what has been said, some employing companies do not hesitate to say that the trade agreement is an annoyance, interferes with the freedom of the conduct of business, and works to the disadvantage of the stockholders. Others, and a larger number, do not hesitate to assert that they believe absolutely in the trade agreement as the particular measure under present conditions by which they secure peace, harmony, and a prosperous conduct of their business.

The terms of a trade agreement must be clearly stated, and all the details as to wages, hours of labor, and other working conditions agreed upon, and so clearly that they are not subject to any differing interpretations; but there are certain basic elements or stipulations which should be incorporated in every agreement. It should be an essential feature of the contract that no question shall be conclusively acted upon by either party to it independently, but shall be referred for settlement to a joint committee, which committee shall consist of an equal number of representatives from each association or body or party entering into it, and that the findings of the committee shall be final and binding upon the parties and upon their respective members. It should be clearly understood and



stipulated that in no event shall strikes or lockouts be permitted, but that all questions and differences shall be submitted to the joint committee, work to proceed without stoppage or embarrassment, and that no sympathetic action shall be taken by either of the parties, or by their members, in support of any action taken by any other organization or the members thereof. The parties should also agree that there shall be no discrimination against workmen or employers by the parties to the contract, or by their associates, on account of membership or non-membership in any society or organization whatsoever. Also, that the joint agreement shall not be annulled by the withdrawal of either party, or otherwise, except after the date of expiration of the working rules established under the agreement, and then on notice to be filed by either party so intending with the other party at least six months prior to said date, and that no amendment shall be made to the agreement except upon like notice and by a concurrent vote.

These elements should be common to all agreements, and in some cases there should be stipulations that there shall be no arbitrary limitations of output on the part of the men, nor arbitrary demands for an excessive amount of output by the men on the part of the employers; that all unfair or unjust shop practices on the part of men or of employers shall be discouraged by the respective parties to the agreement; that any attempt on the part of either party to enforce any unfair or unjust practices upon the other shall be the subject of rigid investigation by the officers of the respective associations, parties to the agreement, and that if upon careful investigation the charges of such practices are sustained against the party complained of, then that party shall be subject to discipline according to the by-laws of the respective associations.

The contract of the United Mine Workers of America with the bituminous operators in the West has a stipulation, in many instances, to the effect that the right to hire and discharge, the management of the mine, and the direction of the working force are vested exclusively in the operator, and that the United Mine Workers of America shall not abridge this right.

The Architectural Iron League and the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers' Union of Chicago entered into an agreement last April, in which agreement are contained a few very basic principles, one stipulation being that both parties to the agreement covenant and agree that they will not tolerate nor recognize any right of any other association, union, council, or body of men not directly parties to the agreement, to interfere in any way with its being carried out, and that they will use all lawful means to compel their members to comply with the arbitration

agreement and working rules as jointly agreed upon and adopted. The agreement provides, further, that there shall be no limitations as to the amount of work a man shall perform during his working day, no restriction of the use of machinery or tools, no restriction of the use of any manufactured material, except prison made, that no person shall have the right to interfere with workmen during working hours, that the workmen are at liberty to work for whomsoever they see fit, and that all employers are at liberty to employ and discharge whomsoever they see fit.

The agreement between the National Wholesale Tailors' Association of Chicago and the United Garment Workers of America, made last January, stipulates that it is distinctly understood and agreed that the parties of the first part (the National Wholesale Tailors' Association) shall be allowed to employ non-union employees in their own shops in case the parties of the second part cannot furnish competent union employees in sufficient number, and shall be allowed to employ contractors who have in their employ non-union tailors.

The joint agreement, working rules, and rules of estimating existing between the Chicago Employing Plasterers' Association and the Journeymen Plasterers' Protective and Benevolent Society of Chicago, made last January, provides that the parties to the agreement will not tolerate nor recognize any right by any other association, union, council, or body of men not directly parties to the agreement, to order a strike or lockout, or otherwise to dictate or interfere with the work, and that work can be stopped only by an order signed jointly by the presidents of the two associations, or the joint arbitration board elected in accordance with the agreement, and they both agree to compel their members to abide by this provision. The agreement also provides that there shall be no restriction of the amount of work a man shall perform; that no person shall have the right to interfere with the workmen during working hours; that no person shall have the right to give orders to the men during working hours on a building, except the employer or his representative; that all workmen are at liberty to work for whomsoever they see fit, and that employers shall be at liberty to employ and discharge whomsoever they see fit.

The articles of agreement between the Illinois Central Railroad Company and the blacksmiths employed thereon, adopted in June, 1902, provide that there shall be no unjust discrimination because of the affiliation of the blacksmiths with the International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths.

The agreement between the Contracting Bricklayers and Hodcarriers' Unions of Cincinnati and vicinity provides that the right to employ whatever kind of labor the employer may decide for handling and making of



all scaffolding is recognized ; also, that the contractors shall have the right to employ any kind of labor that may be to their interest to attend to patch jobs, boiler repairing, paving, etc.

The agreement between Local No. 109 of the International Longshoremen, Marine and Transport Workers' Association and the Lake Carriers' Association, a corporation of the State of West Virginia, provides that no man shall be discharged without just cause, and that he shall be notified of the cause, and that when members of the union cannot be obtained the superintendent of the employing corporation shall have the right to secure any other men who can perform the work in a satisfactory manner until such time as members of the union can be secured. The men must continue at work in the event of any controversy arising between the parties. It is also agreed that no man or boss in an intoxicated condition, or under the influence of liquor, shall be permitted to work while in that condition, and that a continued repetition of such condition shall be cause for suspension or discharge.

These examples are sufficient to show the ethical and economic scope of the trade agreement, and they show, further, the possibilities of an agreement in the direction of raising the standard of life of the men. One of the most hopeful results of the adoption of these agreements is in the fact that it familiarizes union men with business methods. They bring to the front their most capable members. This alone is of very high importance. The great trouble with trade unions has been,—and this trouble exists today to a large extent,—that they undertake to decide business problems without the slightest business experience. They deal with questions involving their interests on which they have either no information or a great deal of misinformation. The individual workman cannot ascertain the conditions surrounding production. This information the employer has, and under the trade agreement, where the representatives of the two parties to production come together on a basis of equality, each interested in the preservation of the business and in its prosperous and successful conduct, all information necessary for the adjustment of any questions in dispute is easily and readily obtained.

The instances are innumerable in this and other countries where strikes have been ordered because the strikers or the organization ordering the strike were not informed, and there are many, many instances where under the trade agreement, having become informed, they have abandoned their position. Such an agreement brings the parties into close business relations, and this of itself must have an excellent influence upon the conduct of affairs.

Every labor organization and every employers' association,—and the

two associations are essential for the perfect working of the trade agreement,—should embody in its constitution, so that there can be no question of the attitude of the two parties, provisions binding itself to observe and carry out rational bargains. Much has been said along this line, owing to the existing constitutions of many unions, for the employer has feared that, no matter what agreement he might make with the union, it would be subordinate to the organic law of the union; but I think, so far as my observation and knowledge go, that trade unionists consider that when an agreement is made it supersedes any provision in their constitutions in conflict with the agreement. For instance, should the constitution of a union provide that the members should not work with non-union men,—although such a provision is very rare, but it does for illustration,—and the agreement between the union and the employer should provide that there should be no discrimination by the employer against the union and that he should be at liberty to employ non-union men, then this feature of the contract would supersede the provision of the constitution.

Employers sometimes decline to enter into an agreement with their men, or the organization representing them, because of the irresponsibility of the union,—that is, because, in case of breach of the contract, there would be no one to respond in an action for damages resulting therefrom. The Taff-Vale case in England, under the decision of the Law Lords, announced the doctrine that any association, voluntary or otherwise, incorporated or unincorporated, that could work an injury must be responsible in damages in case an injury was done by it. At first this appeared to many as the promulgation of a new doctrine, which might eventually ruin the trade unions, but in England the leaders in the trade union movement are beginning to understand that this decision makes their position all the stronger, because, in accordance with the principle announced, employers will prefer to deal with the unions rather than, as Mr. Morgan said, with a chaotic body of individual workmen. But the doctrine is not new at all. It is very old, and has been recognized time and again in this country. Therefore, the entering into an agreement by a trade union, even when the union is not incorporated, renders each individual member liable for any damages resulting from a breach of a contract. They stand in precisely the same contractual relations as the member of a copartnership.

Every member of a union which institutes a boycott that results in damage to the parties boycotted may be proceeded against in a civil suit for the damages resulting. When working men thoroughly understand this principle, and realize that it requires only resort to the courts by the



damaged party, they will not only be more careful about engaging in disastrous or damaging boycotts, but will also feel their individual responsibility when they enter into the contracts with their employers.

The trade agreement solidifies interests and steadies the industrial community. It reaches farther than this, for the ethical influence upon society is greater, perhaps, than any other influence exerted by the method. The world is beginning to recognize that there are two investors in every productive enterprise,—the stockholder of the company, or the member of the partnership, and the wage-earners themselves. One party invests some of its capital in the enterprise. The wage-earners invest all their capital, which is their labor, hence in all rational ways they should have a voice in the making of the contract which binds them to contribute their capital in association with the capital of the stockholder. Labor has moved from status to contract, but the ordinary contract is one made entirely on one side, or by one party to collective bargaining, the other having no voice in it except one of consent. The freedom of contract does not apply in the ordinary relations between employer and employee, except so far as the wage-earner is obliged to accept the conditions offered him, and by consenting thereto he in a sense, technically at least, indulges in the freedom of contract. By the trade agreement, however, under which all the conditions of production are discussed and laid open before him, there is the utmost freedom of contract, and the best results of it. Collective bargaining, therefore, represents the interests of both parties crystallized in mutual agreement, for no agreement can be made until the minds of the two parties come to a common point.

This principle is being recognized more and more, and, as already intimated, to an extent not known to the public at large. Great railroad systems make contracts with their men, members of local unions affiliated with the brotherhoods. They do not advertise these things, because they are features of the regular conduct of the railroad business, but they are most emphatic indorsements of the principles involved in the trade agreement.

Of late there has been some alarm growing out of the agreements between unions and employers. We hear much about labor and capital getting together. As Mr. Ray Stannard Baker has shown in the October number of "McClure's," labor and capital in Chicago have come together to such an extent, and through agreements, as to slaughter the interests of the consumer. Years ago Mr. E. J. Smith, a prominent manufacturer of Birmingham, England, started a movement which he felt would solve the labor question so far as labor conflicts were concerned. He had had varied experience, working himself up from an apprentice to

a manufacturer, and had always taken a keen interest in all questions affecting capital and labor, employer and employee. His plan,—and he carried it into execution,—involved the formation of an association among the workpeople, and the signing of a compact between such association and the association of employers to support the principle of trade unionism on both sides. Under this compact the employers engaged to employ none but union workmen, and the workmen's association engaged to work for none but union or association employers. Here was a trust of the fiercest kind. Honestly carried out it did no great harm, but when such a principle is carried out as it has been in a few instances in Chicago it is simply an organized attempt to exploit the community. There the employers agreed with the unions in certain undertakings practically along the lines of Mr. Smith's compact, but they agreed to pay higher wages to the members of the working men's association and, on their own part, to charge more for their services. As they corralled all the interests involved in the business, no service could be secured outside of them. Thus the community was mulcted to a very large degree in order to preserve the peace between contending associations of employers and employees.

This experience in Chicago has no relation whatever to the trade agreement which has been described. It is a conspiracy under the law, pure and simple,—a conspiracy in the restriction of trade and to enhance wages by combination, recognized in all countries as a criminal offense; indeed, in some instances suits brought against the parties involved in Chicago have been decided on the ground that the conditions existing constituted conspiracy. The agreements in Chicago exist between two collections or groups of associations. The trade agreement is an entirely different affair. It is a straightforward business compact between two parties having contractual relations of the highest order. The one is moral, business-like, and economic; the other immoral, unbusiness-like, and uneconomic. Hence there is no parallel so far as principles or purposes are concerned, and the one should not be confused with the other, as it has been in some instances.

The trade agreement is one of the best offsets to socialism, for it satisfies the working man in the idea that he is really a party to productive enterprise. Hence he feels more of a man. Under the contract he is the equal of his employer, and in carrying it out he takes pride in preserving that equality. Of course, this agreement may be abused in certain cases to the detriment of the community at large, but it cannot long be abused, because it is made between the employers of an institution or establishment and the employees of the same, and not through a conglomeration of



associations for the purpose of restricting trade and organizing a conspiracy. Surely any method that advances human progress, by preserving the manhood in men and by securing their dignity and loyalty, is worthy the careful and most considerate attention not only of employers everywhere but of all students of economic conditions.

## PARIS, "PORT-DE-MER"

ANDRÉ LEBON

PARIS

**I**N a previous article I had occasion to note the inferiority of France as regards internal navigation,—or internal means of transportation,—apart from that offered by the railroads, and also to note to what extent the lack of a water route acts as a hindrance to the development of her great industries. With the exception of the Seine, which carries only shipping of light tonnage, and that for a short distance, France has no fluvial highway. The canals are inadequate, both in number and in capacity.)

In the year 1900 a close investigation was made by the Superior Council of Commerce and Industry to distinguish and to classify the works most necessary to the welfare of the country, and to specify those demanding immediate and rapid execution. On the first day of March, 1901, the Ministry of Public Works, accepting the main conclusions of the committee on investigation, presented to the Chamber of Deputies a bill covering the completion of the national working material.

An examination of its details would not interest American readers. A survey of its general outlines will be sufficient.

There are four works of capital importance among the routes to be eventually opened by the government :—

(1.) The connection of the metallurgic basins of the east with the collieries of the north and of the Pas-de-Calais, and with the port of Dunkirk, by a canal nearly parallel with the Belgian frontier.

(2.) The construction of a second canal for the transportation of coal from the north towards Paris (rendered necessary by the fact that existing means of transportation threatened to fall short of the pressing needs of the extension of traffic).

(3.) The connection of the port of Marseilles with the Rhône by a route running along the coast of the Mediterranean.

(4.) The construction of a very costly canal to connect the valley of the Rhône with the valley of the Loire.

Added to these four projected works is the supplementary work to be done for the maintenance of the canals now in operation. Taken altogether, the supplementary work, the work for the maintenance of the system now operating, and the work covered by the bill of March 1,

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1901, will demand an outlay of five hundred million francs. As the state has no superfluous funds and is not desirous of raising a public loan (more or less abuse having been made of loans), it is proposed to draw, within a period of from ten to fifteen years, one half of the required amount from the normal resources of the appropriation for public works.

It is presumed that the people interested in the work,—the promoters of the work, those who are to draw profit from its accomplishment,—will be ready to furnish the other half of the sum demanded. But, as it is unreasonable to expect that private individuals, departments, or boards of trade, will make the government a free gift of such a sum of money, the government proposes to authorize the interested parties to borrow their part of the general expenditures in measure as the progressing work calls for funds. The promoters are to have the right,—under fixed conditions,—to reimburse this outlay by exploiting the tonnage. They are to draw revenues from the tonnage, whether it be animal or mechanical; including self-acting boats,—automoteurs,—all vessels utilizing the canals are to pay their dues.

These are the general outlines of the bill presented to the Chamber to satisfy the crying needs of the French industrial world. A law covering the project of this bill would work a revolution in commercial customs. Since the year 1882 there have been no taxes on internal navigation, and shippers have paid nothing but barge freights and tonnage fees. These will naturally regard the tax as a burden, but their need of better shipping facilities is so urgent and the benefits expected from the new system are so great, that not a voice has been raised against it. In point of fact, the projected tax system is not an innovation; it is a return to ancient habits (not to speak of later customs); nothing more, indeed, than one of the features of the old custom of "enfeoffment."

As regards several of the features of the enterprises covered by the bill of March, 1901, negotiations between the ministry and the promoters of the canal project are far advanced and in a fair way to be completed.

It has probably been noticed that there are no salient details in the projects enumerated for connecting Paris with the sea by means of the Seine. As far as that plan is conceived the chief care of the government is to assure a perfection of detail. Notwithstanding the agitation maintained on the subject by certain associations and by certain newspapers, the administration has rejected,—even categorically rejected,—all projects for digging a maritime canal for the circulation of ships between the sea and the capital; in other words, it has rejected all pro-

jects for making Paris a seaport.<sup>1</sup> It may be interesting to note what has been done in the last two years for the amelioration of the navigation of the Seine, what have been the results of such action, and why the state engineers reject the idea of a more radical solution of their difficulties. Under the laws of 1878 and 1880, France dug the channel of the Seine between Paris and Rouen to a depth of three metres, twenty centimetres. Also, to permit the passage of river barges to the port of Havre (avoiding the dangerous passage at the mouth of the river) the canal of Tancarville was opened. After an outlay of ninety-four and one half millions of francs,—we date the beginning of the work from the year 1887,—the people of that region were provided with a fluvial route permitting the circulation of boats of three metres draught. This route has nine reaches, each reach commanded by a weir (dyke or dam). Each weir has two locks, one wide lock, passing eight or eleven barges of average tonnage, and one small lock for the passage of single boats without convoy. These improvements diminished the length of the voyage from Rouen to Paris to three days for towed boats, and to twenty-five hours for self-acting boats. It had been five days and three quarters for tows, and fifty hours for self-acting boats.

The improved conditions bettered transportation to such an extent that traffic which had been estimated in 1879 at two hundred and thirty millions of kilometric tons increased to four hundred and sixty-four millions of kilometric tons<sup>2</sup> in 1890, and in 1900 to six hundred and eighty-four millions of kilometric tons,—an annual increase of nine and four tenths per cent, and a total increase of one hundred and ninety-eight per cent.

The freight rate also felt the improvement. It fell nearly two thirds, and today it stands at fourteen millimes of a franc per kilometric ton up stream, and twelve millimes down stream. But it is to be noted that the total amount of this tonnage does not follow the Seine as far as Rouen. Three hundred and twenty-two millions of kilometric tons (nearly half of the total tonnage) enter the Seine at a point seventy-five kilometres from Paris, at the Seine's confluence with the Oise, at the entrance of the northern canals, where they start for Paris. Consequently two thirds of the freight carried by the Seine either leaves or enters the Seine going to or coming from the western departments. Three hundred

(1) The project for the maritime canal bears the title, "Paris, Port-de-Mer."

(2) This is the number of tons measured by a kilometre. The number is obtained by multiplying the effective tonnage of the boats having passed, by the number of kilometres passed by each boat.



and twenty-two and one half millions go to Rouen (one hundred and seventy-one kilometres from the point of the Seine's confluence with the Oise). For the region between Rouen and Havre, served by the canal of Tancarville, the figures fall to thirty-nine and one half million kilogrammetric tons.

This means that the work undertaken in 1878 and in 1880 fell short of its aim. The promoters of the work did not succeed in securing the major part of the trans-shipments operated between fluvial and maritime navigation; in other words, the greater part of the freight was not sent to Havre by the canal. After the improved line was opened to the public, an unexpected fact modified events and destroyed the hopes fixed on the port of Havre.

Rouen, because of her situation and her facilities for anchorage, was expected to play an important part as intermediary, to serve as a way station, and to pass the shipping along to Havre. But she refused her part, and, recognizing her natural qualifications, she took advantage of the deepening of the Seine's channel to draw in trade from the sea. Instead of remaining a useful and submissive agent, she became an active principal. Now, instead of shipping her freight to Havre by the canal, she relieves ship cargoes on her own docks and ships freight directly for foreign ports. The number of ships entered and cleared by her is thus annually increasing.

In 1887 the ships which entered or cleared Rouen gauged one million, two hundred and thirty-four thousand, six hundred and twenty-three tons, and carried one million, three hundred and forty-four thousand, one hundred and ninety-nine tons merchandise.

In 1899 these figures were raised respectively to one million, five hundred and sixty-four thousand, eight hundred and fifty-six, and two million, three hundred and twenty-six thousand, seven hundred and sixty, exclusive of arrivals and departures from and to the west. Three fifths of the merchandise was furnished by importation; about one part of the total amount of cargoes was transferred at Rouen to the river boats.

A fact even more interesting than the fluvial indications is the decomposition of the various kinds of transports considered in relation to their draught, for in the draught of transports lies the key to the progress possible to the port of Rouen. The following is a table showing that maritime navigation brings ships of important capacity into that port.

In 1889 sixteen hundred and forty-two vessels, entering from the sea and halted by Rouen at her own docks, were registered thus:—

Number of Vessels.	Draught.	Proportion of tonnage to total guage.
161	Below 3 m. 50	3 per cent.
150	From 3 m. 50 to 3 m. 99	3.1 per cent.
646	From 4 m. to 4 m. 99	27.1 per cent.
536	From 5 m. to 5 m. 99	44.6 per cent.
103	From 6 m. to 6 m. 49	14.4 per cent.
46	From 6 m. 50 and above	8 per cent.

The ship drawing the most water entering the port that year (1889), was an English steamship laden with petroleum; it guaged two thousand, six hundred and fifty-four tons, and displaced seven metres, seventeen centimetres of water.

The demonstration of Rouen's capacity as a seaport has signally sustained the courage of the Rouennais and inspired them to consent to additional pecuniary sacrifices in view of future advantages. According to the bill presented to the Chamber, March, 1901, the estimates for quays, slips, slope paving, etc., call for an outlay of eleven and a half millions of francs, and half of that money could be paid at once. But results already obtained have excited the hopes of the promoters of a scheme infinitely more vast, to which allusion has been made in this article. A glance at the principal features of that scheme is now timely.

As maritime navigation shows a tendency to penetrate into the interior, ascending the river wherever it is possible to do so, and since it is to the close interest of merchants to ship their heavy merchandise direct by water, avoiding the expense and the delay of transfer of cargo, why not lead maritime traffic directly into the port of Paris instead of halting it at Rouen? Why not forward it at once to the great market centre of supply and demand, and by so doing do away with the costs and the risks of transfer?

Paris, "Port-de-Mer," Paris, the great seaport of France, Paris, made accessible to ships coming in from foreign countries, that is the dream of enthusiasts; and certainly there is enough in it to tempt the imagination. But, unfortunately, it is easier to draw a plan on paper, and easier to excite a popular opinion by public meetings, or to float a movement of public sympathy by skilfully worded advertisements, than it is to bring such projects as that of Paris, "Port-de-Mer," to a successful realization. This particular project has been adroitly manipulated as a whole,—and in its details,—and that repeatedly, since it first saw the light but, judging from present appearances, it is far from being acceptable or feasible.

Let us look at the matter from a technical point of view, that is to



say, let us consider the construction of a canal of a total length of one hundred and eighty-five kilometres, breadth of crown thirty-five metres in the rectilinear parts, curvatures of forty-five metres, and prism six metres, twenty centimetres.

The valley of the Seine being exceptionally sinuous,—one hundred and one kilometres out of one hundred and eighty-five kilometres are in bends varying from fifteen hundred to two thousand metres. Four weirs would be required to equalize the levels, and in order to maintain circulation on roads and bridges, there would have to be thirty-four bridges (thirty-two drawbridges and two stationary bridges). All the bridges would have to be at least twenty metres and fifty centimetres above the level of the water. The numerous and formidable objections to this conception may be seen at a glance. The members of the committee united in council, to consult as to the practicability of the scheme, were unanimous against it.

The first factor of a canal, prism, is inadequate; it would permit nothing but the passage of ships of five metres, fifty centimetres draught. Only fifty per cent of the vessels employed in the traffic of the port of Rouen, and only seven per cent of the ships entering the port of Suez are of such feeble tonnage; so it must be conceded that the canal would exclude all ships demanding greater depth of anchorage. Even the width would be inadequate. In many cases the passage of ships would be difficult. The stationary bridges would need to be raised to forty-five metres for the passage of the larger ships utilizing the canal. The water required to carry them would have to be drawn off from the Seine. And the loss of such volumes of water could not fail to be felt in agriculture and otherwise. The country which has prospered hitherto would undergo serious deprivation.

The drawbridges would, necessarily, remain open from seven to fifteen minutes for each passage of ships or of convoys. In the frequented localities surface circulation would be interrupted and hindered, and temporary and casual,—if not prolonged and serious,—annoyance would result from such delay. Annoyance would be especially felt by the railroads which would cut the canal at eight different points. And all this contravention to what end? To open a port of a thousand metres of quays, and eight docks of from one hundred to three hundred metres; or to establish a national "plant" notoriously inadequate to the development of traffic anticipated by visionaries.

From a financial point of view the horizon is even darker. The authors of the project ask for a concession for a canal without subsidies or a guarantee of interest. They estimate the total cost at one hundred

and fifty millions of francs, and, as the state engineers declare that they would, at the outset, be forced to draw two hundred and fifty millions of francs from their appropriation, bankruptcy would ensue before the channel could be constructed. Let us pass this slight discrepancy of estimates in silence, and accept as exact the main previsions. To re-coup their disbursements, the petitioners for the concession aspire to the right to a tax, or fee, of three francs per ton (guaged), plus twenty-five hundredths centimes pilotage, the same rate to obtain ascending and descending, but exempting boats drawn by horses of less than three metres draught. Setting aside the criticisms excited by the tariff, let us say that were such a tariff to be applied it would require the taxation of five millions of tons of freight to balance the budget of the undertaking.

Now nothing is more doubtful than that a ship entering the canal for Paris from the sea could advance at a rate of speed faster than ten kilometres per hour, as it is difficult for boats to circulate by night on lines of such curvature, therefore,—omitting the time of voyage, not less than a day and a half,—the delay and the expense contingent upon such a slackening of speed would certainly hinder ships making quick trips from utilizing the canal to Paris; or if it did not hinder them, they would at least stipulate for much higher freights. As to full cargoes, cereals from the United States and grain from India are transported by ships whose dimensions forbid their entrance into such a port as the projected port of Paris. Wood sent down from the north, petroleum sent from the United States, and English coal, might take that route, but it would be at an excess of freight. Ships transporting light freight would carry nothing but light cargoes,—half or broken cargoes,—on the homeward voyage.

So much for the products for Parisian consumption. Products coming from beyond Paris, in France, or products for delivery beyond Paris, products for transfer or trans-shipment, will go their way whether the canal be built or not; for them a canal is of no importance.

Now, all considered, what is left of the five million tons of freight which are to furnish taxes for the reimbursement of the promoters of the scheme? In truth, very little! And when we sum up the technical criticisms and the palpably fantastic estimates, there are no probable profits in sight.

To speak frankly, the authors of the project of "Paris, Port-de-Mer," seem to have taken a radically false initiative. There can be no comparison between a canal connecting Paris with the sea and the rivers of foreign countries,—be they with or without tides,—which have been improved within the last few years, the river St. Lawrence, the Mississippi,



the Oder, the Danube. In those rivers,—the parts utilized for the navigation of seagoing ships,—there are neither locks nor bridges. The case under consideration is rather to be compared with the Manchester canal and the canal of the Baltic. Though the plans of these two canals are more simple,—with fewer locks and bridges,—their results have been disastrous, viewed either financially or commercially.

The estimated expenditure for the Manchester canal was, in round figures, two hundred and twenty-eight millions of francs; annual receipts, forty-four million francs, for a traffic of nearly ten million tons, with a cost of maintenance of a little over three million francs and financial charges of thirty-five and one half million francs, primary cost of establishment. *But the expense increased to three hundred and eighty-eight millions of francs.*

The tonnage utilizing the canal has been only one fifth of the amount estimated in the project. The company, unable to meet its engagements, has been obliged to stand by and see its debt to the city of Manchester pile up in accumulated interest. It was supposed that the Baltic canal would be eminently useful, because ships utilizing it would be able to avoid an unnecessary voyage of between four hundred and sixty and seven hundred and forty kilometres, and the route thus to be avoided by ships using the canal lies in a particularly dangerous region. It was supposed that the shorter and safer route would tempt traffic and that eight or nine million tons would be gauged yearly.

So the canal was built.

The actual gauge is very close to two millions. In this case, also, every financial result has fallen short of the hypothesis.

Those two failures cannot be considered of a character to allay the scruples of the technical experts and economists, who are now studying the project of "Paris, the Seaport." It is probable that, however the bees may buzz around the honeyed seductions of this splendid scheme, generations, if not centuries, may elapse before the first ground is broken for the ship canal through which American colliers will pass to dump their coal on the plain of Saint-Denis. It is probable that reason will prevail, unless the event is preternaturally hastened by parliamentary jealousies and rivalries now in process of incubation.

The foregoing observations apply to the more phantasmagorical projects of the inter-oceanic canal, and of the connection of the Loire with the Garonne by a navigable basin. In the first case the Atlantic and the Mediterranean would be united by a canal capable of passing ships of war, so in case of need it would be easy to cross France,—from one side to the other,—without rounding the Iberian Peninsula, and without

exposure to the fire of batteries of the protected cruisers or the insidious torpedoes of Gibraltar.

So much for the inter-oceanic canal.

The canal connecting the Loire with the Garonne would cut through and clear away several hundred miles of exclusively agricultural country, a peaceful country living on its own produce, offering nothing and asking nothing, indifferent to the outer world, a rural land ill fitted to the necessities of serious traffic, independent and undesirous of a canal.

It is not probable that this latter project will ever meet a parliamentary majority favorable to an expenditure so manifestly sumptuary; it certainly will not while the government and its technical councilors possess wisdom enough to distinguish and to proclaim the difference between practicable enterprises and enterprises impossible to realize.

It cannot be dissimulated that the government's propositions in favor of the bill will be met by a vigorous opposition; it must so be met as a matter of principle. The exceptions to the dissent will emanate from the active longings of pecuniary appetite, from ambition, or from a taste for experimenting with the difficulties included in the plan of internal navigation. However this may be, when the bill comes before the people, it will have to face a determined resistance, not only insidious but openly declared. The doctrinal quarrel between the partisans of the railroads is of long standing. While they do not deny that the railway system demands an augmentation, the partisans of the new plan insist that the rivers and the canals ought not to be neglected.

The quarrel between the two parties is envenomed by various considerations derived from the peculiar financial regimen of our railroad corporations. We all know what this system is. The state has not confined itself to conceding each line of railroad, over a fixed territory, to its particular company for a period of ninety-nine years, reserving nothing but the right to reclaim the lands and rails at the expiration of the concession; the state also facilitated the formation of the companies, either by concurring with each for a fraction of the expense of the first establishment, or,—and this is more generally the case,—by guaranteeing a fixed annual interest on the sums borrowed by the companies for the construction and for the exploitation of the roads.

These advances, which in their turn produce interest, constitute a credit from which the state is supposed to draw profit. If the companies do not make their business profitable so that they can reimburse the state with the excedents of their total receipts or their surplus, then, when the concession expires, the state indemnifies itself by taking possession not only of the works but of the rolling stock. The argument drawn from



this sort of association between the state and the railroad companies, in favor of the extension of navigable routes, is clear. Certain aggrieved spirits claim that the canals would divert part of the railroad traffic, that the companies' receipts would be seriously influenced by the change, and that the visits to the guaranty fund would be more frequent and more clamorously voracious.

As the state is to pay half of the cost of constructing the canal,—at least if the bill of March, 1901, becomes a law,—and, as it is also responsible for the guaranty of interest,—which, for the year 1901 alone, amounted to sixty millions of francs,—it is plain to be seen that the state is competing with itself, running opposition to itself, and on its own money. From the railroads' point of view it is thus competing under iniquitous conditions. The companies are not masters of their tariffs. They cannot lower their tariffs until they have gained the approval of the Minister of Public Works. And the Minister of Public Works would never consent to the establishment of a tariff lower than twenty per cent in advance of the tariffs of parallel navigable routes. This being true, it is evident that the companies could not hope to regain by intelligent and adroit manipulation, the profits wrested from them by the canals.

Should the state desire to obtain a reduction of transportation rates, would it make a sacrifice of its financial rights in favor of the companies, equal to the sacrifices it will make for the construction of the canals? It might obtain the same results more rapidly and with more loyalty. This reasoning is of a nature to impress many minds, but in reality it is specious, calculated to serve the purposes of the stockholders of the great railroad companies, who are anxious to run the chances of increasing their dividends before the concessions expire, and after they have paid their debt to the state. They look with regret on their diminishing receipts; they see that the possibility of reimbursing the state is retarded, and that, consequently, the probable epoch of an augmentation of their net profits will be postponed. The policy of the state is tenable even from a strictly financial standpoint. Since its advances to the companies are reimbursable at a given moment, either in money or in rolling stock, as long as the credit does not exceed the value of the rolling stock, the state holds a guaranty for all it has advanced.

It may be said that it is to the interest of the state to remain the creditor of the railroads. In the event of too prompt a settlement the state might have to draw too large a sum of money from its safe when it would acquire the railroads' rolling stock at the end of the concession. Not to linger on purely financial considerations, let us examine the question from a more generally economical point of view, as it appears in

countries where the state is the owner of a large part of the railroads, operating them for its own benefit. How is it that in Germany, in Austria, and elsewhere, the state continually encourages internal navigation? At this moment important projects are on foot for the opening of canals in those countries.

Apparently experience has proved that the railway and the canal systems both have distinct utility, that each has its advantages, that each individually answers distinct necessities. Numerous are the products which do not require the speedy transportation of the railroads, especially if they can be sure of a transportation where the coefficients of exploitation are infinitely less. Numerous are the moments, in the industrial world,—Europe, all Europe, passed through such a crisis in the beginning of the year 1900,—when, for want of sufficient rolling stock, the railroads cannot respond to the exigencies of the situation.

It is impossible to form any conception of the net cost of either mode of transportation (land or water route). As has already been said during the last twenty years ninety-four and one half millions have been expended to improve the navigation of the Seine between Paris and Rouen. If we allow an interest of three per cent on the capital and add to that interest the six hundred and eight thousand, two hundred and seventy-two francs entailed by the annual repairs and maintenance of the channel and the locks of the canal, these figures represent an expenditure of five millimes of francs for each kilometric ton of traffic.

We admit that the state is supposed to offset its disbursements by a tax on shippers. It is a known fact that as far as roads and bridges are concerned most civilized countries have renounced this method. Bridges and roads are free, though they are maintained and repaired by the community. There is no direct drain on the receipts. The rates here previously given are for average through freight from Paris to Rouen, freight which is from thirteen millimes (fourteen ascending, twelve descending the Seine) per kilometric ton, and which, we may add, is annually declining.

Thus we arrive at a total expenditure (taxes, rent of barges, and traction comprised) of eighteen millimes. Now in European countries it is only under conditions absolutely exceptional, for long distances and for a limited number of products, that is to say, for few kinds of products, that the railroads make freight so low. And yet certain enlightened spirits declare that at such prices transportation by railroad "does not pay."

We think that we have said enough to show that the present programme is not absolutely incontestable. Nor is it assured that it will



pass the two Chambers unchallenged, nor that, having passed the Houses of Parliament,<sup>1</sup> it will be executed promptly. To utter such a prophecy would be to display a misconception of the inherent sloth, and the varied complications of legislative procedure.

It is hardly possible to form any idea of the train of inextricably tangled preliminaries such a work entails from the moment the ground plan is put on paper to the first stroke of the pick-axe. Moreover, the technical conditions of execution do not permit contractors to set up their workshops,—begin work on many points of the route at once.

The opposition of Parliament resorting to a loan, and the fact that the annual resources of the appropriation, which is somewhat meagre, would be inadequate to the demand, will be the cause of more or less delay.

In fact, the bill had gone safely through the Chamber of Deputies in the course of the spring of 1902, but it was cut down by the Senate in 1903, two of the most important works of the government's programme,—that is, the connection of the metallurgic basins of the east with the collieries of the north, and the connection of the Rhône's and Loire's valleys,—having been postponed. France need not complain too bitterly if the aforesaid plan is not realized for fifteen years to come.

(1) Chamber of Deputies and the Senate (Luxembourg Palace).

# THE ECONOMIC VALUE OF ADVERTISING

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THE astonishing development of advertising, the growth of its influence, and its increasing importance in modern economics, must be palpable to any one familiar with economic changes. Indeed, the art of advertising has produced a literature of its own, describing the best methods and imparting valuable suggestions to the uninitiated. The merest glance at the literature of economics will convince us, however, that the subject of advertising has received but scant attention from scientific investigators. It would be hard to find an exhaustive and systematic treatment of the subject, and it shall be my endeavor to supply this need to some extent in a brief sketch of its more important economic conditions. I shall attempt to discuss the subject only with reference to articles of commerce.

The French use the word "réclame" to designate the subject in question, a term that has given rise to the German word "Reklame." This expression, strictly speaking, is not identical with the English word advertising, unless we apply the latter term, using it in its broadest sense, to every means whatsoever of attracting public notice or attention. The traveling salesman's oral recommendation, the effective window display with its mirrors and floods of electric light, these are forms of advertising just as much as a magazine or newspaper advertisement or a street car announcement. In fact, the means resorted to are endless. For example, it is an open secret that tailors make presents of elegant clothing to prominent persons, in consideration for which the latter are expected to mention the maker casually, to be sure, but as often as possible. Other firms are known to employ persons, who, when occasion offers, say in a crowded street car, converse naturally, but quite audibly and energetically, on the merits of their employer's establishment. All this is nothing more nor less than a method of advertising certain articles or business firms.

The nucleus of business propaganda consequently lies in announcement *per se*, not necessarily in recommendation, open or hidden. It is evident that a mere announcement often accomplishes much; for instance, the mere circulation of the news that a hotel has been opened in a town, or that certain articles are to be had in a certain store, must boom the enterprises in question. In other respects, also, familiarity with the name, if nothing more, may prove valuable, even though the public may not



have been convinced by personal trial of the excellence of the article. A man, for instance, who intends to buy wine, but is not a connoisseur, will in nine cases out of ten ask for a brand with a familiar name. In general the purely retentive factor of the memory, even in the case of a cursory acquaintance, plays a rôle of no mean importance in the selection of an article, etc. Following a somewhat similar line of thought, Wehle in his work on the theory and practice of advertising maintains that the means employed may consist in depreciation as well as in commendation, and that their effectiveness depends in the main upon the continual harping on the same string, and he concludes that the best way to restrain advertising is to be found not in criticism, but in absolute silence.

It will be seen at a glance that this view must be modified and supplemented before it can be accepted as true, since it is by no means simple to draw a sharp line between mere publicity and advantageous publicity. The former tends to awaken a conception of the importance, prominence, and superiority of the article advertised, so long as the memory does not contain also elements establishing the contrary. There is apparently, then, good reason for the popular inference that "generally known" implies a favorable characterization; when we read of a well known author or a well known firm, we are apt to jump at the conclusion that a favorable judgment is intended, although no hint has been given as to whether the person or firm is in reality famous or infamous. The extent of a man's reputation is in direct ratio to the extent of the circles in which his name is familiar, and this explains the prevalent mania for standing in the public eye, though the circumstance be ever so trivial.

Since the initial aim of advertising is to make something known, to familiarize the public with the name of a product or an establishment, and since, as we have noted above, publicity is generally equivalent to prominence or superiority, these factors must be of the utmost significance in conducting business propaganda. Were the conditions reversed, if, for example, a newspaper advertisement depended for its success upon the possibility of convincing the reader on the instant of the superior quality of the advertised article, then truly the field to which the art of advertising might be applied would be very narrowly confined. In some cases, to be sure, it may be advisable to produce such a conviction; for instance, by means of a suitable description of the article or by the publication of testimonials from scientific experts on nostrums or food products, etc., yet in other cases this is out of the question. Simple commendation does not generally belong here, for while commendation presented in a convincing manner may influence some people, we must not lose sight of the fact that the thinking majority will not overlook the

circumstance that this commendation emanates from a prejudiced source, that is, from the party seeking to turn his goods into hard cash. This is the reason why an advertising scheme often consists in simply calling the attention of the public to the name of the article or of its maker, but with endless repetition, and this method usually accomplishes its purpose. The factors mentioned considerably affect the extent of advertising, in the first place, because they render advertising profitable even where it would be impossible to convince the public of the excellence of an article, and in the second place, because the frequent repetition of a notice is evidently of tremendous importance, tending directly to make the name of an article a household word. It would take us too far to discuss the economic reaction produced by these elements, particularly upon the extent and cost of the advertising plant.

It should not be deduced from what has been said, that it is immaterial for purposes of commercial propaganda, whether or not an advertisement creates directly a favorable impression of the excellence of an article in the mind of the public. It goes without saying that the contrary is the case. Cleverly managed commercial propaganda will always aim to produce as favorable an impression of the article or of its maker as possible, and the most varied means may be employed to attain this end. Publicity is only the starting point, the basis of commercial propaganda, a first step, so to speak, which must be followed by others. If the public knows and takes notice of an article or a firm, well and good; yet it is still more desirable that the article be considered excellent and the firm have a better reputation than its competitors, and thus we see that advertising has a very wide field to cover beyond mere publicity. To be sure, it is immaterial whether the conception which it is intended to convey really presents the object in a meritorious light or not, for frequently an utterly subjective, one-sided, or even erroneous conception of the value of things will serve the purpose. The paramount consideration is not whether the object is really valuable, but whether it appears to be so. It is well known, for instance, that a book or a play of questionable propriety will appeal strongly to many, and nothing would aid the success of such a work better than to advertise its peculiar quality.

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After these preliminaries we will now discuss more fully the economic features of our subject. Naturally many questions will arise; the effect of advertising on political economy in general is of fundamental importance. The modern system of advertising in its diversified and widely differentiated forms represents an enormous scheme for the incessant distribution



of information about services and articles at our disposal. The initial influence wielded by this apparatus consists accordingly in the information imparted about manufactories, goods, etc. It may be compared to a market, where goods are displayed, only its effects are more widespread, because it is independent of any fixed time and of the personal presence of those interested. Being more thoroughly informed of the nature of the supply, and thus more likely to make a proper selection, the consumer is better enabled to satisfy his demand. Countless circulars, innumerable prospectuses, business propositions, etc., provide the public with much needed information about current prices and market values, and thus save a vast amount of time that would otherwise be wasted in groping inquiry. Were it not for the impressive language used in advertising, great difficulties would be encountered in introducing a new article. As it is, many things old and antiquated are thrust aside, a desire for the hygienic, the æsthetic, the up-to-date is aroused, in short, advertising tends to improve the quality of the necessities of life and to extend the utilization of modern advances in civilization and of continual achievements along technical lines. Emily Fogg-Meade in a treatise recently published holds much the same view, claiming that "advertising in the field of consumption is a force working toward social improvement, a means by which the tastes and habits of the masses are revolutionized, and novelty, variety, and harmony are introduced."

The influence of advertising, however, is not limited to enabling the consumer to make a better choice; it also produces a beneficial effect upon production and trade. The information promulgated in business announcements about the conditions of the market benefits not only the consumer, but also the business man, who may profit by suggestions, discover what is being offered by others, and what he must offer, in order to cope successfully with his competitors. Inasmuch as production and trade by means of all sorts of announcements and notices are made dependent upon the control of publicity, the position of the man who has something valuable to offer to the public is thereby strengthened, while it tends to injure the business of the man who performs less and whose sales are due entirely to the ignorance of the public with reference to better goods and conditions of supply. A particular instance of this is the possibility of facilitating the introduction of novelties. For although articles may be manufactured which better meet the demand than existing ones, nothing is gained unless the new and better article be known. Furthermore, there is no doubt of the fact that a healthy business practice must recognize that these efforts cannot end in the distribution of announcements and commendations; far from it—the desire should be

ever present to produce something worthy of all the heralding and blowing of trumpets, just as the possibility of quickly introducing an article of undoubted merit by means of advertising stimulates the spirit of enterprise and invention. These remarks will perhaps be flatly contradicted by those who are not in sympathy with the noisy bustle of modern business propaganda, since the opinion is frequently vouchsafed that the employment of intensive advertising methods enables many to dispose of worthless articles in large quantities. Without attempting to refute this view absolutely, we can advance the argument that a large number of practical business men is agreed, that as a rule extensive propaganda pays only in the case of articles which are actually commendable. In this connection one factor must not be overlooked, to which the statement just made owes much of its foundation, namely, the aid that ordinary business propaganda receives through voluntary and free recommendation on the part of those who have tested the excellence of an article or the efficiency of an establishment. On the other hand, in the case of an inferior article the effect of the propaganda will be seriously impaired by adverse criticism. An advertisement may create a demand, which in its turn may result in a purchase, but in order to transform the chance buyer into a steady customer,—and the latter alone as a rule makes advertising pay,—it is necessary actually to satisfy him. On this point Nathaniel C. Fowler in a book, which contains an abundance of sound advice on the subject of advertising, says, “Advertising brings people to the store or office, and there its mission stops; then success depends upon the quality of the advertised, the price of the goods, and the salesman.” Or as another practical authority puts it: “You may advertise a spurious article, and induce many people to call and try it once, but they will denounce you as an impostor and swindler, and your business will gradually die out and leave you poor. Few people can safely depend upon chance custom. We all need to have our customers return and purchase again.”

So much about the economically favorable features, or if one prefers, the objects for which advertising strives, not only occasionally or by chance, but from the very nature of things. We cannot judge of the real value of an institution, however, unless we compare its utility with the accompanying disadvantages, as well as with the expense involved. In the first place, as far as the disadvantages are concerned, it must be noted that the apparatus for the distribution of information and enlightenment about the conditions of the market, as represented by advertising, does not by any means work perfectly. The trouble is, we are not dealing with a reliable and impartial source of information about matters that



might be of value to the public, but rather with an apparatus which is set going by speculative designs, and consequently the general inherent interest is satisfied only incompletely and imperfectly. What is more, the resultant disadvantages are not limited to the fact that the information furnished is one-sided, unsystematic, dependent upon circumstances, that it may be silent about what is most important or most urgent, and, indeed, may sometimes be absolutely false. Hence the difficulty arising from the double nature of advertising: it may serve to improve the knowledge of the public about goods and conditions of supply, but it may also lead to wilful confusion; it may aim to introduce something worthless and bad, as well as something valuable and good; it may support honest labor, or it may force it back, indeed, since the art of creating attention occasionally overshadows all real accomplishments, tending to debase it. Innumerable newspaper advertisements, prospectuses, etc., pave the way not only to more exact information and thereby to a better satisfaction of the demands of the consumer, but by means of suggesting imprudent and useless purchases, exercise a deleterious effect upon economy and upon the ability to supply wants perhaps more urgent. Advertising threatens by its influence to undermine the reliability of business life and of the press, to turn the business man aside from his real productive tasks by drawing his attention and cares to an apparatus working outward, and what is more, to encourage less conscientious elements, who desire to make unreserved use of this apparatus.

What has just been said does not contradict the statement made above, that extensive advertising as a rule pays only in the case of really commendable articles. Every rule has its exceptions. Such exceptions are all the more likely to occur where the public is not thoroughly conversant with economic matters, or whenever it is really difficult to determine the exact value of an article. The latter is true, for example, extensively and emphatically in the case of quack medicines and medical remedies in general. The sufferer eagerly welcomes any ray of hope, no matter how slight, and willingly makes a financial sacrifice, even though the prospect of winning back his health thereby be ever so distant.

However, even disregarding all those cases, in which propaganda is made for something inferior or deleterious, there yet remains an immensely wide field in which it is economically unproductive, while not necessarily disadvantageous. The modern system of advertising, as is well known, does not content itself with making the public only slightly acquainted with the existence of a certain article or firm, but strives to win it over absolutely by constant notices and commendations. General interest only demands that the public be kept informed of the existence of the

article or class of service; but it does not require that one establishment or article should be preferred to another of equal quality. If in a certain city, for example, the efficiency of A and B were equal, all of A's efforts and endeavors to attract customers might promote his private interests, but any general interest would be lacking. These efforts appear still more unproductive if B, on the defensive, should distribute notices of his own and thereby weaken or counteract A's announcements. We might thus have a large outlay on both sides for newspaper advertisements, catalogues, posters, etc., which would, however, speaking broadly, produce no other effect than to reestablish the old state of equilibrium. In other words, a considerable portion of advertising is absolutely wasted, because the outlays and efforts of one party simply neutralize those of another. The fact is, that in advertising all depends not so much on the actual amount of propaganda, but rather on the amount over and above that of the competitor.

In spite of this, the cost of advertising is charged entirely against the production and the sale of the articles involved. However, instead of attempting to excel the competitor by improving quality or lowering price, the war of competition aims only too frequently and too intensely at overwhelming him by the mere mass of announcements. In this sense Professor Jenks justly holds that in the case of articles the true quality of which cannot be easily tested, and which are sent to the consumer in packages stamped with brands and trade-marks, competition does not necessarily lead to a reduction in price, but may easily result in nothing more than a contest in advertising. With reference to the further effect upon the selling price, he says:—

“The purpose of the advertising is not chiefly to persuade customers to buy more soap or spices, but to use Pear's instead of Colgate's, or Ivory soap instead of Babbitt's, or one favorite brand of spices instead of another. Such expense of advertising must, of course, add greatly to the cost of the goods to the consumer. It is probably not too much to say that in many lines it would be possible, if the competitive advertising were rendered unnecessary, to furnish as good quality of goods to the consumers, permit them to pick their brands, and charge them only one half the prices paid at present, while still leaving to the manufacturer a profit no less great than that now received.”

It would be difficult to estimate the vast sums spent daily, aye hourly, for the purpose of attracting the attention of the public to certain establishments or articles. It has been estimated that over one hundred million francs are annually expended in France in the cause of “publicité” as the French call it. For the accuracy of these figures I cannot vouch,



but additional light may be cast on the subject, if we consider that the practice of advertising has developed but slightly in the French daily papers; indeed, the widely read, first-class newspapers often do not contain more advertisements than appear elsewhere by the hundred.

The tendency toward the division of labor in the field under consideration is becoming more and more apparent. A number of enterprises have been established solely in the interests of business propaganda, and advertising has thus become a business in itself, just as other subsidiary trades as forwarding and shipping agents, general agents, warehouses, brokers, etc., have now assumed various functions previously conducted by the merchant himself. And so we have advertising agencies and agents that attend to the setting-up and insertion of advertisements, offices that furnish names and addresses of persons to whom price lists and announcements are to be sent, firms that manufacture and post signs and bills. Moreover, many persons are active in the service of propaganda, some exclusively, others in great part. Large business houses have special employees for this purpose, for example, advertising managers, adwriters, designers of posters, window decorators,—even the traveling salesman belongs to this group, and their number is legion. Sandwich men and similar individuals represent, as it were, the lower order. The graphic arts are called into play for the purpose of preparing announcements, catalogues, etc. A modest country parson in Prussia made an accurate count of all the circulars sent him by mail during the year 1899, and discovered that they would have covered thirteen thousand octavo pages. But there are still other channels through which advertising expenses flow. Many establishments present their customers with small mirrors, note-books, calendars, and the like, which are intended to allure trade, or else to keep the name of the firm fresh in the mind of the customer, and besides, we have expenses for bill posters, wall daubs, show window decorations, exhibitions, etc. Then, in addition to the cost of producing various written or printed advertisements, the expenses of distribution by mail or messenger must be taken into account.

The most prominent part in advertising is, however, played by the magazine and newspaper, which derive their largest income from this source. In this connection editorial advertising must not be overlooked; although apparently rather hidden, it is none the less effective. It would be impossible to estimate the advertising income of all the thousands of dailies, weeklies, and monthlies, in the case of which the proceeds from this source for a single edition often represent a respectable fortune. While the magnitude of this particular field compels us to give up all

attempts at obtaining accurate totals, a few figures will at once illustrate its scope and the enormous increase that has come about.

Let us take Great Britain, for example. Stead figured out on the basis of the state tax on papers and advertisements in force at that time, that in 1832, 37,250,000 copies with about 920,000 advertisements appeared in the United Kingdom. The total edition of dailies and weeklies published in 1898 is estimated at almost 3,000,000,000. A modest estimate places the average amount realized from one column of advertisements at 10 pounds sterling. At this rate, the London dailies with a total of 14,000 advertisements in 562  $\frac{1}{2}$  columns would realize 5,625 pounds sterling from advertisements alone in one day. In 1831, 177 monthlies were published in London, the total selling price of which was 17 pounds, 12 shillings, and 6 pence, or on an average 2 shillings each; by 1898 the number had increased to 874, selling for 21 pounds, 16 shillings, 3 pence, or 6 pence each. Undoubtedly the large decrease in the selling price is due directly to a corresponding increase in the revenue from advertisements; 2,265 magazines were published in the United Kingdom in 1898; 90 of these, which are of general interest, contained 1,968 pages of advertisements in one month. In the case of 46 of these 90, the advertising rates were known, and they contained 1,086 pages of advertisements, which cost about 13,700 pounds sterling.

As for the United States, Fowler in the book above mentioned stated ten years ago: "Without going into statistics, the statement can be made that the advertising of 1850 was not more than one twentieth of the advertising volume of today; that the advertising of the present time is nearly double what it was fifteen years ago, and that present advertising shows an increase of probably twenty-five per cent over even five years ago." The first number of the "New York Herald," which appeared in 1835, had 12 columns of text and 4 columns of advertisements; in November, 1900, the same paper contained 2,192 columns with 85,557 paid advertisements, and in November, 1901, 2,305 columns with 88,965 paid advertisements. According to an estimate published in the excellent journal for advertising, "Printer's Ink," \$600,000,000 are annually expended in the United States for all sorts of publicity, but the journal itself justly admits that this sum is estimated too high.

Interesting data concerning newspapers and newspaper advertisements, which are at any rate more reliable than mere estimates, are to be found especially in the census reports. Neglecting those publications from which no data could be obtained and which have probably been of small importance, in 1880, in the United States, the number of publications amounted to 10,132, in 1890 to 14,901, in 1900 to 18,226. The



aggregate number of copies of these publications issued during the census year is figured at 2,067,000,000 in 1880, at 4,681,000,000 in 1890, at 8,168,000,000 in 1900. The total value of the advertisements in 1880 was \$39,100,000, in 1890 \$71,200,000, in 1900 \$95,800,000. The total number of the subscriptions and sales amounted in 1880 to \$49,800,000, in 1890 to \$72,300,000, in 1900 to \$79,900,000. The increase in the value of advertisements was, from 1880 to 1890, 82 per cent, from 1890 to 1900, 34.6 per cent; in the value of subscriptions and sales from 1880 to 1890, 45.1 per cent, from 1890 to 1900, only 10.5 per cent. From these figures and from the data concerning the immense increase in the consumption of paper, etc., Mr. William S. Rossiter, in his report, comes to the conclusion that publications depend more and more upon advertising as their principal source of income, and that the publishers of newspapers and periodicals, pushed by competition and by the necessity for an increase of circulation to meet the exactions of the advertiser, have increased their capital and forced a larger circulation, which has not shown a proportionate increase in the financial returns. It seems that the number of advertisements distributed among the public has increased still more than is shown by the estimated returns of the newspaper advertisements.

In considering these and similar figures with reference to the cost and scope of this phase of advertising, we must not lose sight of the fact that not all newspaper announcements serve the interests of business propaganda, many of them being mere family notices, etc. For example, Wilcox, who made a study of 147 leading American dailies, found that on an average advertisements made up 32.1 per cent of their contents, of which 5.4 per cent were want advertisements, that is, those so designated by the papers themselves and, in general, most of the advertisements occupying only a few lines each and placed together in columns of nearly solid printed matter, 13.4 per cent retail advertisements, 3.9 per cent medical advertisements, 2 per cent political and legal advertisements, both public and private, for example, lists of delinquent taxes, notices of sheriff sales, mortgage foreclosures, etc., 6 per cent miscellaneous advertisements, chiefly concerning transportation, financial and educational matters, amusements, hotels, and summer resorts, and finally 1.4 per cent self-advertisements about price, Sunday editions, circulation, and so on, of the papers themselves.

While, as was remarked above, it may be impossible to arrive at any accurate figures, it is certain that expenditures for advertising are assuming immense proportions and are keeping pace with all advances in economic development.

The amount of advertising, also, is rapidly assuming greater and greater proportions. The increasing space devoted to announcements in newspapers and magazines and the tremendous development of other forms of advertising are incontrovertible facts. Indeed, we cannot but smile at the meagreness of the efforts made in this direction in former times. The reasons for this increase, however, must be ascribed to various factors.

In part they may be found in the increased refinement and differentiation of needs; growing wealth and developments in technical directions bring about an increase in the use of luxuries. In consequence, there is more occasion and more opportunity to provide information about articles not used by the masses. The luxuries of life being less sought for than the necessities, an interest in the former must be stimulated; their very existence and their qualities must be made known; whereas the consumer takes pains to provide himself with the essentials. Everybody will cook his daily soup of his own volition, but when you want him to use extract of beef to improve it, you must enlist his interest first. On the whole, there is less variety in the case of crude, simple, necessary articles, and the public is less apt to look for differences. The greater the consumption and the more complicated the economy of the household, the more difficult it is for the consumer to be informed. Consequently, advertisements of the daily necessities of life play a far less prominent rôle in newspapers and magazines than those of articles more or less dispensable. Coal, wood, potatoes, bread, flour, etc., are less widely advertised than toilet soaps, novels, fancy goods, etc. Necessities are required day by day, and comprise definite articles; we take the trouble to keep informed as to where and how they are best procured. On the other hand, if we wish to buy a typewriting machine, or a fur coat, or an ornament for the home, we are more apt to examine various offers and to make a selection only after due inquiry. Moreover, the consumption of necessary and simple articles is a fairly fixed quantity, on the whole independent of the influence of advertising, whereas the latter is absolutely essential to arouse an interest in the numerous things that are less sorely needed and less frequently bought.

A second factor is involved in the changed manner of consumption as well as of the conditions of buying and selling. Frequently we no longer look for articles of a certain kind, but rather from a certain establishment. This applies not only to articles where it is self-evident, as for example, in the case of a calculating machine, a bicycle, etc., but also to cases where formerly no attention was paid to a trade-mark. A continually increasing number of articles is sold nowadays in wrappers



containing the name of the firm or the mark of the manufacturer, where formerly it was the custom to obtain the article from a retail dealer without noticing or recognizing its origin. We have not the space here to discuss the source of this phenomenon more in detail; at any rate, the present system has several advantages. The consumer, on the one hand, always receives a definite article, the value of which he may have tested; he knows just what he is getting and whence it comes, without being dependent upon any chance retail dealer. The manufacturer, on the other hand, derives undoubted benefit from the fact that the public becomes familiar with his articles and his establishment, this acquaintance being no longer restricted to the intermediary retail dealer. The tendency is partly due to the present character of retail trade itself, a recent author complaining that few retail dealers at the present day possess a thorough knowledge of goods, their attention being confined to the marks or brands, and most necessities being bought and sold not after due examination of values, but rather according to mark only. It is easy to see what a wide territory is opened up to advertising by reason of these conditions. Manufacturers no longer have to deal with a limited number of retail dealers, but can turn to the general public and elicit its interest by means of advertising, and that is the reason why articles of this nature are most frequently and widely advertised.

A third reason for the rapid development of advertising is to be found in the changed methods of trade in general. It is evident that the small dealer does little or no advertising; the scope of his business would not permit of it nor demand it, since he aims to reach only a narrow circle of customers, and custom and tradition in his case regulate to a fair degree of accuracy the articles offered for sale. The case of the modern, large retail store is essentially different. It not only has the means, but its very existence depends upon a wide patronage, which is not restricted to city limits, but includes suburbs and outlying districts, yes, even foreign countries. Furthermore, the perfecting of postal and transportation facilities has given rise to the establishment of stores that are especially or exclusively arranged not for local but for suburban and more remote trade, and such as these are absolutely dependent upon extensive advertising. Another type of modern business life is the store that limits its trade to a special article or a particular line of goods, for example, to tea or to whisky, to mourning goods, etc. These, also, cannot hope to prosper unless they enjoy a widely scattered patronage. Sharp competition and other causes have brought about less stable business relations, so that the same customer has to be won over and over again. Modern conditions of trade permit less and less of the waiting for customers to put in

appearance; the necessity for initiative, activity, presentation of novelties that rouse the interest and tempt one to buy, increases daily. The contrast to what Leroy-Beaulieu has described as "*commerce passif*" in undeveloped ages and countries is continually becoming more pronounced. This tendency has revolutionized the old forms of business life and made timely the new trade principles discussed above. Under these circumstances it is easy to see why the doctrine should be promulgated and followed, that advertising is the soul of business, that the man who cannot use advertising in his business has no right to be in business, that, as Macaulay once said, advertising is to business what steam is to machinery, the grand propelling power. The story is told of a man who once came to a merchant to buy a remnant of cloth long out of fashion, with which to repair a garment. The merchant was delighted to be able to satisfy the new customer, and asked, "How do you happen to come to me for this *bagatelle*?" The answer was, "I thought you would be the most likely man to have the sample, because you never advertise." Our modern immense establishments take good care not to hide their light under a bushel. It is claimed that one of these establishments in the United States paid out two hundred and fifty thousand dollars annually for advertisements in three newspapers alone, and the newspaper advertising expenses of the twelve largest retail stores have been estimated at three million dollars per annum. The census report above mentioned says that the patronage of less than twenty advertisers forms more than half of the total advertisements appearing in the daily newspapers of New York City.

The recent advances in the field of advertising are due in the fourth place to the great technical improvements, which naturally result in the manufacture of so many novelties. The latter above all else require propaganda in order to become known and valued, but at the same time give fair promise of a remunerative return for the outlay.

One thing more must be added. Wherever advertising has once seized a foothold, it soon develops automatically, as it were, a tendency to grow, as we have seen in our previous discussion. Business propaganda, to be sure, aims to call attention to a certain establishment or its products, yet its success frequently depends not upon what is absolutely accomplished, but rather upon the extent of the excess in advertising of one competitor over the other. There exists a continual and persistent endeavor to outdo the opponent. A's advertising leads B to follow suit, and B's action forces A to go him one better. In a hall where all is quiet, everybody can easily make himself heard with his natural voice, but as soon as some one begins to shout, the others must do likewise, if they wish to



be understood; at the end, however, only one stentorian voice will be distinguished. And so when A begins to extend his business through advertising, his competitor, B, will be forced to take up the gauntlet. The ultimate result may be that moderate propaganda conducted by many parties will produce absolutely no change and have no real effect, which can only be attained by unusual exertions. Moreover, it is evident that a certain indifference as to the ordinary advertisement is gaining ground among the public, and this can only be overcome by rendering the means for attracting the consumer more complicated and more luxurious,—I have only to mention the modern poster, which is becoming more and more a work of art, or catalogues in book form superbly illustrated, or the magnificent show windows of city stores, or the monster newspaper advertisements. Again, it is not at all unlikely that firms will advertise very extensively in newspapers, not because it may be particularly necessary, but because they desire to pose as large advertisers and thus appear to be in the same class as the leading establishments. The tendency towards extravagance is today manifested in almost every field, and that of advertising furnishes no exception to the rule. How widely the development will spread in future, what endeavors and financial efforts will be made to distance a competitor in size and equipment, in tasty and striking features, these are questions that only the future can answer.

We see from the foregoing that there are powerful factors continually at work, which tend to widen the field of advertising. However, a number of tendencies running counter to the general development exist and must not be lost sight of. Speaking broadly, these impeding forces are manifested with varying degrees of intensity in different countries, according to the character of the conditions by which they are influenced.

One of the most noticeable of these retarding elements is the spread of the system of coöperative organizations for consumers. These associations, no matter how different the various existing types may be, maintain a settled list of members and purchasers, who do not need to be won over and over again through the process of advertising. Moreover, such organizations are guided by other principles than private business enterprises, and that is the reason why in these coöperative associations advertising is not only actually diminished, but, as for example in England, the opposition to the entire system of advertising may become a conscious principle and may be regarded as a constituent part of true coöperative sentiments.

A second weighty factor is the rapid growth of industrial combinations and trusts. It would, of course, be difficult to determine the exact degree of influence these corporations have exercised in limiting the amount of

advertising; it is, however, to be expected that the disappearance of competition among the allied establishments will have just this effect. It may also be shown that many articles for which pools or trusts have been formed, raw materials, for example, are not at all or only to a limited degree affected by advertising, and in such cases it may well be doubted whether trust organizations really tend to retard the development of advertising. Further investigations and studies along these lines may throw more light upon the subject.

The development of public control vested either in the state or in the community constitutes another retarding element. In this case, also, the effects have thus far been but moderate, partly because we are here concerned with enterprises in which advertising played only a small rôle even while they were under private control, and partly because even public management, although it may in general be less favorably inclined to the system of advertising, cannot and should not under certain circumstances dispense with advertising altogether. Government railroads, for example, may carry on an extensive propaganda for trips to various resorts, etc., and it would not be at all desirable if gas works and electrical plants controlled by communities should neglect the propaganda for modern heating and lighting appliances.

Still another factor may be discovered in the circumstance that occasionally a definite and conscious reaction at least against exaggerated and extravagant advertising manifests itself. In a number of places societies have been formed with a view to guarding against excesses in this field. The existence and effect of these acts of self-help on the part of the public must not be undervalued, but an even greater influence in this regard may be exercised by the state itself. The limitations that have been set by the latter are concerned either with the abolishment of certain abuses or with the taxation of advertising proper.

Extravagant business announcements are certainly nothing new. To be sure, we should not be inclined at the present day to adopt the doctrine of Plato, who wanted to forbid a dealer from praising his own wares, and yet at the same time this does not hinder us from refusing to sanction notices and pretensions based upon fraud and deception.

A particularly prolific field for the exploitation of the public has always been found in the sale of patent medicines, that is, of preparations to which are ascribed healing virtues for maladies or bodily infirmities, and the composition of which is not plainly recognizable by the public. The sale of such remedies finds ready support in superstition and ignorance, in the great desire to remain in good health and prolong life, and finally, in the case of an invalid, in the natural endeavor to leave no



stone unturned to rid himself of his suffering. We can readily understand, therefore, why this should be a field in which extravagant claims and intensive commendations have always been sown broadcast, so much so that quackery and puffing have become synonymous terms, and have been merged into the single conception of charlatanry. The place of the old oral commendation has been taken to a large extent by the press, and one thing is certain, that a considerable percentage of the remedies advertised daily in the newspapers is worthless or relatively expensive or out and out injurious. Investigation by an expert in Germany demonstrated that of five hundred and fifty secret remedies tested, one hundred and thirty-six contained powerful poisons, and the price of all was abnormally high, from two to twenty times too much according to a normal calculation. A striking instance of the extent of the advertising employed in this line may be found in the case of Halloway, the pill manufacturer, whose advertising expenditures were estimated at from thirty to forty thousand pounds sterling annually, and who is said to have died leaving a fortune of several million pounds. Hembold, the New York druggist, is said to have showered even more announcements upon the public. In France, all printed notices and posters relating to secret remedies were forbidden by the laws of the 21 germinal XI. and the 29 pluviôse XIII. The first result of the enactment of this law seems to have been to force the extremely important French "specialité" industry to seek relief in export, and vast quantities of these articles were sent abroad. Measures have also been adopted elsewhere against public announcements of patent medicines, for example, in Prussia. It would lead us too far to discuss the effects of these measures, but some attention must be paid to those regulations which are concerned with advertising in general and are not restricted to a single branch.

Of other legal measures directed against transgressions in the field of advertising, I wish to call attention particularly to the German law of May 27, 1896, forbidding unfair competition, since it has brought forth similar measures in several other states, or at least seems destined to do so. This law is directed against false statements in public announcements or in notices intended for wide circulation about business conditions, more especially about the quality, the manufacture, or the fixation of the price of goods or of industrial services, about the source of supply, about the possession of awards, about the cause or purpose of a sale. Whoever makes such false statements, apt to produce the impression of an unusually favorable offer, may be called upon to withdraw the same by tradesmen of the branch in question or by associations for the promotion of industrial interests. Suits for damages may be instituted in case the accused party

was or should have been aware of the falsity of the statements, and wherever false statements intended to lead the public astray are made knowingly under these circumstances, proper punishment will be dealt out, which, in case of a repetition of the offence, may be imprisonment. Like measures have also been taken in the United States, for example, the law enacted in Massachusetts providing for the punishment of those guilty of making fraudulent representations in their advertisements.

Notice should also be taken of the fact that the Prussian government has recently enacted legal measures looking toward the prevention of a disfigurement of the landscape by advertising signs, inscriptions, and pictures. An agitation for the establishment of similar measures was begun in Switzerland some years ago. Such steps as these do not, to be sure, affect the system of advertising *per se*, but only individual cases, in which the desire for conspicuousness grates too much on our æsthetic sensibilities. The taxation of advertisements is a problem rather general in nature, and I shall therefore discuss it more at length in the following paragraphs.

This sort of taxation formerly played a much greater rôle than it does today, and usually took the form of duties levied on newspaper or magazine advertisements. Thus as early as 1712 a tax of one shilling was placed in Great Britain on each such insertion, no matter whether the publication appeared weekly or oftener, and absolutely irrespective of the size of the advertisement. In 1757 the tax was doubled, in 1789 it was raised to two shillings and six pence, and in 1804 to three shillings and six pence. In 1833 it was lowered to one shilling and six pence, and in 1853 abolished altogether. The income from this source in 1832 amounted to about one hundred and seventy-two thousand pounds. Great efforts were made to bring about the repeal, and in 1850 a petition was presented to Gladstone, at that time chancellor of the exchequer, in which the reasons for the abolition of the tax were briefly and precisely stated. Attention was called to the facts that newspapers and magazines were burdened unduly and the work of the press thus hampered, and that the poor man seeking employment was compelled to pay as much as the rich man advertising the sale of an estate. Furthermore, the points were raised that the tax created a monopoly, inasmuch as only business men in fairly good circumstances could afford to advertise, while mechanics and small tradesmen were excluded from the publicity of the press, and that besides the tax could easily be evaded, since there are various methods of promulgating notices.

The development in Prussia is very interesting and I shall touch upon it here also, in order to throw some light upon the pettiness of old con-



ditions. From the eighteenth century there existed in Prussia a number of government sheets, so-called "Intelligenzblätter," which contained announcements and especially notices demanded by the authorities, whereas the political papers were limited in scope to political articles, learned essays, and book reviews, even as late as 1826, as a cabinet order of June 27 of that year proves. The income from these government publications showed an increase, to be sure, but was kept within extremely modest bounds, at least judging by present day standards; in 1848 not more than about fifty-seven thousand thaler were collected in this way. Inasmuch as the political papers were more widely read, however, the public soon found it profitable to advertise in these, and the government institution (a military orphan asylum) that received the income of the "Intelligenzblätter," concluded agreements with the publishers of the latter, whereby due indemnification was assured. In 1850, the official publication of the "Intelligenzblätter" was discontinued and from that time on marvelous advances have been chronicled in Prussian newspaper advertising. The imperial press law of May 7, 1874, prohibits a special taxation of the press and individual press productions (for example, a tax on advertisements, etc.) throughout all the German states.

In Austria a tax of ten kreuzer (about seven cents) was levied in 1850 on every newspaper advertisement; later on this tax was repeatedly increased and at the time of its repeal in 1874 it amounted to thirty neukreuzer (about twelve cents). At the same time the stamp duty on posters was done away with. In 1871, the income from the advertisement tax was two hundred and sixty thousand gulden, from the poster tax thirty-one thousand gulden.

The latter is still in vogue in France, where all public placards are taxed according to the size of the paper employed, the maximum amount being twenty-four centimes for a single poster. Painted notices (for example, on linen or directly on walls) are taxed per square metre, the revenue derived from this source amounting to about one hundred and thirteen thousand francs in 1896.

In Italy a law of July 4, 1897, prescribes that all public placards, whether printed or written, must be provided with a five centesimi revenue stamp, a rebate being made in the case of a large quantity of identical announcements. Furthermore, the communities are privileged to tax outside store signs, shingles, emblems, and the like, referring to a business or vocation, in proportion to the number of words or figures employed.

These examples have been cited in order to show that attempts to render the advertising system gainful to the public treasury have not been

wanting and even exist at the present time. Undoubtedly the resumption of the practice of placing a considerable tax on newspaper advertisements would lead to their limitation, yet it is highly improbable for many reasons that the system will ever again be generally adopted, especially in countries where the freedom of the press has always been guarded with a jealous eye. The tax on public placards and the like is of less importance, and an accurate opinion on this point can only be formed in connection with a thorough understanding of all the governmental and financial institutions of the country concerned. Yet even here we may presuppose that the very extension of the advertising system will develop a growing resistance against financial difficulties placed in the way of its application. At any rate, the economic importance of advertising is not based on its financial benefit to the state.

Having thus discussed the subject in some of its bearings, it now remains for me to draw some conclusions. We have seen that the institution of advertising undoubtedly accomplishes an important economic mission. It is an apparatus which promulgates information in the most manifold directions, leads to the establishment of various business connections, and is thus of value to the consumer as well as to the producer. At the present day it furnishes a living to a good many souls, and has besides an important cultural function to perform, namely, by inciting to a refinement of needs, by the propagation of novelties, and by the consequent support of the technical and economic advances. The system of advertising is intimately bound up with the intellectual life of nations, having won over to its service to a marked degree art and taste, and having made possible the modern newspaper and magazine.

However, all these favorable effects are not without certain drawbacks. The dissemination of news is incomplete, costly, unreliable, and from the standpoint of the public interest, loaded down with many useless expenditures. In so far as these defects rest upon definite excesses of the system, for example, in the case of "*concurrence déloyale*," legal measures may be resorted to, as has been attempted in several countries. Experience only will enable us to determine their true measure of usefulness. Still, no matter how successful such laws may be, they affect only certain imperfections and not the organic shortcomings of advertising. These latter are themselves the product of and share the weaknesses and faults of the modern economic system, in which production in general becomes subservient to speculative individual interests. To be sure, a number of circumstances and conditions tend in the other direction, that is, wherever individual interests are rendered subservient to the public weal, as when production is begun where there is want and limited where there is



superfluity, nevertheless in the free play of economic forces public interests prevail only after serious obstacles have been met and overcome. The same is true of the news service effected by the system of advertising, inasmuch as its activity also depends upon individual, scattered interests, without any systematic guidance or consistent consideration of the public welfare. Its acts are limited by the interests, intentions, and means of individuals. The general interest in economic information is satisfied only in so far as it may serve some private interest.

There is another aspect in which advertising bears the characteristic marks of the modern system of economy, since it has undoubtedly assumed more or less the capitalistic stamp. The immense advantages of frequent and continual repetition are accessible only to enterprises possessed of large means. Advertising leads to the emancipation of the large producer from the small dealer, eventually to the suppression of the latter to the point where he is compelled to carry articles that do not benefit his personal interests, simply because his customers, incited by constant advertising, demand them. Advertising makes it possible to acquire customers at a distance; it procures wide publicity for the performances and prices of large establishments, and thereby forces the smaller to keep pace with them, no matter how difficult this may be. The development of the system particularly in the retail field, therefore, lends an impetus to the modern tendency to force back the small dealer and to form large establishments.

While we must accept these phenomena more or less as a matter of course, since they are so intimately connected with the modern system of economy itself, we cannot suppress some apprehension at the rapidly increasing cost of the advertising apparatus. This phase of the question must not be overlooked, for although certain forces, as we have seen, are at work in the direction of limitation, at the same time they have as yet not shown themselves powerful enough to withstand these steady advances, and there is scarcely any reason to suppose that they will be able to in the future. We can only hope that the general knowledge of commercial affairs will spread constantly, and that the power of resistance of the public against unjustifiable propaganda will in the course of time become sufficiently vigorous to impose a certain limitation of the advertising system. Whether there is any possibility of this hope being realized within the near future is another problem. Personally, I think there is none.

# JAPAN AND THE UNITED STATES: A PROPOSED ECONOMIC ALLIANCE

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**A**FTER the War of Independence, the American ambassador went to Madrid and bowed down at the feet of the Spanish minister of foreign affairs, entreating the approval and support of the Spanish king in regard to a certain diplomatic negotiation with European powers. The Spanish minister had then declared that today we might dictate to the American government, but a hundred years hence, this tiny republic will become one of the greatest nations, and all Europe will tremble at her magnitude and supremacy. These words escaped, at the time, the ears of all European diplomats and statesmen, but what a prophet was the Spanish minister! To Spain did America owe her discoverer in the fifteenth century, and to her again, in the eighteenth century, the prophet! When George Washington was inaugurated as the first President of the United States, he had clearly foreseen the future of America, therefore he had laid down, by his message to Congress, the corner stone to the encouragement of inventions, and thus established the foundation of American economic greatness. As long as he is regarded as the Father of his Country for American independence, so will he be for the economic policy of the great republic. Beside the principle of American statecraft, there is a certain peculiarity in the atmosphere of the United States, which changes the nature of all the people who inhale it. As soon as a foreigner takes up a domicile in America, he becomes a different person both in body and mind, and his energy and activity far surpass that of his own countrymen; hence the cry of the "Americanization of the world" is heard in every quarter.

The Pan-Slavonic movement is no longer the watchword of European diplomacy, since the eastern question removed its seat to the Far East, and transferred its centre from the Dardanelles to the Pacific. Moreover, the magnitude of the African question was fully understood by the Europeans after the Transvaal War; Europe was again stirred up by the word of the Anglo-Saxon alliance. The late Cecil Rhodes disclosed to the public before his death, a far-seeing scheme for England's universal policy, and for this purpose, he endowed a large educational fund to Oxford University as the means of carrying out, after his death, the scheme long cherished by him during his lifetime. The fund was intended



to be given to young students for the pursuit of their study at Oxford University, provided that the student's nationality belongs to England or her colonies, to America or Germany, that is to say, the students must be of the Anglo-Saxon race. The aim of this endowment is to bring up a new force in the future, and thus enable England to accomplish her mission in the world's politics with the support of Germany and the United States. An immediate object of the scheme is, no doubt, to cement closer the relations of the mother country with her colonies, and coveting, at the same time, the good feeling of Germany and the United States, to thus gradually organize an alliance of the Anglo-Saxon race to attain an ambition of guiding the affairs of the world.

However powerfully such a scheme might impress the mind of English speaking people, before its consummation, there may possibly be an occurrence of a new event, far more important than the one dreamed of by the founder of the Afrikaner's Empire. This event is the magnitude and supremacy of America. During the past twenty years, the history of the United States in her development of agriculture, industry, and commerce, as well as an increase of the national wealth has, indeed, been unparalleled in the history of nations. May it not be probable that the United States might occupy, in the future, an important position in the universal politics, and thus become the most powerful factor in the economic world, with an inexhaustible market in Europe on the East, and an unattained yet limitless one in Asia on the West. Considering the increase of American national wealth within the last few years, such a forecast might not be considered unjustifiable.

The United States has geographically the most advantageous position in the world's commerce, and, moreover, as it possesses superior shipping facilities both on the Atlantic and Pacific, it thereby holds the reins to rule the communication with Europe and Asia. The southern part of the United States is situated nearer to the tropical zone, while the northern region extends to the frigid, thus the climatic conditions of the country are most favorably varied, and all kinds of products of hot and cold climates are procurable. Of agricultural products such as cotton, wheat, barley, and tobacco, and of mineral products including gold, silver, iron, coal, and copper, the United States possesses inexhaustible resources. Moreover, most of the northern, western, and southern territories are still left uncultivated, notwithstanding the land is remarkably fertile. It is impossible now to foretell to what extent the American national wealth will be developed in the future, if those territories are properly peopled and cultivated. The total mileage of railways in the United States is over two hundred thousand miles, which is the longest

mileage ever owned by one nation, and nearly all of these railways are connected at their termini with deep and well sheltered harbors, thus rendering transportation from the Atlantic to the Pacific at the mercy and command of the American people.

The Americans are naturally an adventurous people, which is the characteristic of their forefathers, who emigrated from Europe in olden times, and as they are brave and persevering, they can endure all sorts of hardships till they succeed in their enterprises. Moreover, they are the most practical people, and as soon as the results of scientific researches in Germany are procured, the Americans apply them at once to practical purposes; thus the improvement of manufactured goods made a great stride within recent years. These facts greatly alarmed the people in Europe, hence the proposal made by the European countries to form an alliance to protect themselves against the American commercial invasion. Until recent times, the capital in American business had been borrowed from Europe, but it is now nearly all refunded,—not only refunded, but at present the American capital is being conversely invested in Europe. According to the American foreign trade reports, the sum of six hundred million dollars is said to be in favor of the United States for the past years, and this amount is virtually invested in, or can be loaned to, various countries in Europe as well as in Asia and elsewhere. If the national resources of the United States are developed continually at the present rate, they will, in the near future, take over to themselves the control of the world's money market.

The policy of the government of the United States in the nineteenth century was aimed solely to develop the internal resources of the country, hence they had stood always aloof from, and seldom intermingled with, the questions in the world's diplomacy, but at the same time, they barred, by the Monroe Doctrine, all the European powers from interfering in any question pertaining to the American continent. This policy might be called "Negative Cosmopolitanism," because they adopted selfishly for themselves the most liberal policy of cosmopolitanism in order to develop the country; but in regard to the importation of foreign goods which compete with home industry, they levy the most exorbitant,—almost prohibitive,—duties to stop their import.

However, just before the beginning of the twentieth century, the people and government of the United States assumed the most bold and astounding attitude in the world's politics. How do they construe the principle of the Monroe Doctrine after the annexation of the Philippines? What explanation can they give for the status of the government in the Philippines? Is it a colony or a territory? What is the principal object



of forming the trust? Why do the Americans change the long established precedent of their international policy? All these might easily be explained, when any one looks at the present condition of the United States, because they are forced from their own necessity and self-expansion to meet the exigency of modern civilization, and they discovered it a great mistake for America to be left behind the current of universal progress, therefore, they determined to assume, in the future, a foremost rank in the commerce and diplomacy of the world. This policy might be termed "Positive Cosmopolitanism."

When the Panama Canal is completed as designed by the United States government, the world's trade between Europe and Asia will be placed under American protection, and the necessity of an economic alliance between the United States, England, and Germany, making America the central figure, will be felt keenly by the people as well as the governments of those respective countries. Such an alliance might be brought forth sooner by England, Germany, and the United States, than the political one schemed by Cecil Rhodes, and in that case the United States will further extend her influence into Asia with the support of England and Germany. Since the latter part of the nineteenth century, the arena of the world's commerce and diplomacy has been transferred from the Atlantic Ocean to the Pacific, regarding Asia as the place where the Golden Fleece is to be discovered and with this view every nation is now trying to shorten the route of access to Asia. At present, the voyage from China to the Pacific coasts of America takes about fifteen or twenty days, while between China and European ports, about thirty-five or fifty days. America being thus situated in a much more advantageous position than European countries, the people as well as the government of the United States have lately become convinced that it is necessary for her to increase her commercial influence in Asia rather than to make an effort to extend her market in the well organized and self-protecting countries of Europe.

Under these circumstances, it is better for the United States to direct her attention towards China with a view to increasing her Chinese trade, where there is no such proposal or alliance to check the American invasion, as is seen in Europe. But here in China, they will be met by a new difficulty,—far more intricate and unsurmountable,—in the first place, by the difference in race and language as well as in manners and customs; in the second place, by the unsettled and irritating question in regard to Chinese laborers in America. I have not the slightest doubt that the Americans will be able to conquer this difficulty, for they are the most practical people, and they will try every means to avoid this difficulty.

One of the first and perhaps the strongest way is to adopt the policy of forming an economic alliance,—not with the government,—but with the Japanese people. It is highly advisable for the American people to take this step for the purpose of avoiding the difficulty, because the Japanese and Chinese belong to the same race, and the early civilization in Japan was introduced from China, and they use the same letter for written language. In spite of the open rupture in 1894, the diplomatic relations between the two countries became closer after peace was restored. Not only have the Chinese now buried their hostile feelings in oblivion, but they have begun to look toward Japan for advice and protection. Japan thus stands in a most advantageous position for extending the commercial influence in China.

Now let us examine the diplomatic relation between Japan and the United States. It has been most cordial ever since 1854, when Commodore Perry came to Japan and concluded the treaty to open Japan to foreign intercourse. It is an indisputable fact that both the people and the government of the United States have continually shown the warmest feeling towards Japan. The commerce between Japan and the United States has, within the last few years, increased beyond any comparison, and our American trade now occupies a foremost position in the report of the foreign trade of the empire. The present state of trade with America will not only continue in the future, but will increase as the years roll on, consequently American capital will in the future gradually be invested in Japanese industry, as well as in various other enterprises, such as the American Tobacco Company's amalgamation with the Murai Brothers Company of Kyoto, and the recent undertaking of the American Standard Oil Company in the oil industry of Yechigo. Let the Japanese, with the advantage of racial and linguistic similarity, clear the way for the American people in their Chinese enterprises, and, on the other hand, let the Americans with their business experience and ample capital, reinforce the Japanese in their business in China. Therefore it will not be surprising if an economic alliance is made before long by the people of the United States and Japan, because the Americans are now most anxious to extend their market in China, and they also know that they cannot do so if they disregard the importance of Japan in Chinese affairs. In this respect, they have already started, in the case of the Hankow Railway Company, recently incorporated by the Americans in China, when they employed ten Japanese engineers as sub-coöperators under the supervision of American engineers. As the Americans are actuated by such an idea, it is important for the Japanese to take a similar step to coöperate with the Americans, and thereby Japan will be benefitted in



her Chinese commerce with the support of America. Thus the people of the two countries might work, hand in hand, on the Asiatic continent, and reap all the harvests of Chinese trade by their mutual support and reciprocal assistance. The Anglo-Japanese Alliance, concluded in 1902, is highly important in securing the peace in the East, but in order to develop the world's commerce in China, an economic alliance between the people of Japan and the United States is far more important, and will be regarded by the world at large as a prime factor in the open door policy in China.

# THE FREE TRADE REVOLT IN ENGLAND

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THE event of the past six months which transcends all others in world-wide importance is the free trade revolt in England, instigated and led by the Premier of the British Cabinet, Mr. Balfour, and its Colonial Secretary, Mr. Chamberlain. In speaking of the situation a few weeks after the movement began, Lord Rosebery said, "We are in an unprecedented and amazing position. Suddenly, without preparation, the nation is brought blindfold to the brink of protection." No one who has followed the developments of the controversy, as they are recorded in the British press, can question the strict accuracy of that statement. Great Britain stands balancing herself on the "brink of protection," with no certainty as to whether she will go over or not. Public opinion is divided, but only a popular election can decide which side is the stronger. A large portion of the press, led by the London "Times," sustains the position of Messrs. Balfour and Chamberlain, and so do many public men of large influence, including several government officials. Enormous audiences attend the public meetings at which advocates of the opposing sides speak, and no parliamentary campaign for many years has aroused so widespread and intense interest as this economic debate over what was supposed to be Great Britain's settled policy.

It is not my purpose to argue in any manner the merits of this controversy, but simply to record as accurately and as concisely as possible the leading points involved in it on both sides, as they are presented by their chief advocates, and to state some of the reasons why it is of absorbing and even momentous interest to the people of the United States.

The revolt was started by Mr. Chamberlain on May fifteen. On that day he made a speech to his constituents at Birmingham which was an earnest appeal in favor of preferential tariffs with the British colonies, especially Canada, basing such action upon the conduct of Germany in penalizing Canada by placing additional duties upon Canadian goods. A few sentences will serve to give the gist of his remarks: "I am no protectionist, but I want to discover if the true interpretation of free trade is that it is our duty to buy in the cheapest market without regard to whether we can sell. If that is the theory of free trade and it finds acceptance here and elsewhere, then you will lose the advantage of the



further reduction of duty which Canada offers to the manufacturers of this country, and you may lose a great deal more, because the minister of finance of Canada told the Canadian parliament the other day that if they are told definitely that the mother country can do nothing for them in the way of reciprocity they must reconsider the position and reconsider the preferences they have already given. The policy which prevents us from offering an advantage to our colonies prevents us from defending them if attacked." Germany's policy of interference and dictation, he went on to say, was justified by the belief that Great Britain was so wedded to its fiscal system that it could not defend its colonies, and that any one of them which should attempt to establish special relations with it would do so at its own risk, and must be left to bear the brunt of foreign hostility. This was putting Great Britain, he urged, in a humiliating position, and one which would make it difficult for her to approach her colonies with appeals for aid "in promoting the honor of the empire or to ask them to bear a share of the common burden." His conclusion, summed up briefly, was an appeal for preferential tariffs for the colonies, first on imperial grounds of common interest and patriotism, and second as a basis for retaliatory tariff duties against other countries.

This speech profoundly stirred the country. It was regarded as a proposal to make a Zollverein, or tariff union, of the British Empire, precisely like that of Germany, or the United States, with free trade for its members within and a tariff wall against the world without, and with power of levying retaliatory duties upon goods imported from countries outside the empire. On May twenty-eight, Mr. Chamberlain elaborated this idea in a speech in Parliament and supplemented it with the declaration that while it necessarily involved the taxation of the food of the people, and while such taxation must be regarded as in itself undesirable, its disadvantages were counterbalanced by the fact that it would bind the different portions of the empire more closely together, and the direct result of the increase in cost of living because of taxation of food would be increased wages. He also maintained that the increased revenue derived from a protective tariff would make possible the establishment of a system of old age pensions. Mr. Balfour immensely accelerated the popular interest and excitement at this time by partially approving Mr. Chamberlain's proposals, while declining to commit himself to the question of taxing food, saying his mind was not clear about it. He declared that the time had come when it should be publicly discussed whether the doctrine that revenue should not be raised except for purposes of expenditure must be abandoned. It was quite useless, he said, to "wave the ragged, moth-eaten flags of either the protectionist or the free trade side in this contro-

versy which was as far removed as the poles from the controversy of half a century ago."

This debate not only affected deeply the English people, but it disrupted hopelessly the conservative ministry of which Mr. Balfour was the head. Further discussion was suppressed in Parliament which was prorogued on August fifteen. There were no speeches immediately after prorogation, but a rapid fire of pamphlets and leaflets was kept up on both sides, and it was understood that speech making would begin late in September. On the fourteenth and fifteenth of that month, cabinet meetings were held for the purpose of reaching an agreement, if possible, upon a fiscal policy. They excited great public interest and dense crowds stood about the Foreign Office while they were in progress. On the sixteenth, Mr. Balfour raised excitement to a sensational pitch by issuing a manifesto in what is said to have been an unprecedented form for a prime minister to adopt. It was in the form of a pamphlet entitled, "Insular Free Trade," and was addressed to the people of the United Kingdom. It was published at a shilling, and the newspapers were forbidden to extract more than a thousand words from it. Two days later, the supreme shock of excitement came in the resignation of Mr. Chamberlain and two other members of the Cabinet, Mr. Ritchie, Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Lord George Hamilton, Secretary for India, both of whom had opposed Chamberlain's proposals and upheld the policy of free trade.

It will suffice for the record to touch only briefly upon Mr. Balfour's pamphlet. It was a reprint of notes which he had circulated among members of the Cabinet during the discussion in that body. He said he approached the subject as a free trader, but "not of the pattern which holds that the doctrine of free trade is so universal in its application and so capable of an exact expression that every conclusion to which it logically leads must be accepted without hesitation and without reserve." He declared, in a phrase which has since had great vogue as the keynote of the anti-free trade side of the controversy, that England's fiscal policy was "made for a free trade country in a world of free traders, not for a free trade country in a world of protectionists," and went on to show that under it her export trade had not increased but had seriously diminished, that some departments showed no increase, while others showed symptoms of decay. The pamphlet was intended as a preliminary to a speech which Mr. Balfour was preparing at the time. He delivered this at Sheffield on October first, to an eager, attentive, and enthusiastic audience of fully five thousand persons. Considered as platform oratory, it was an extremely able speech and would have commanded the attention and respect of an intelligent audience anywhere. Filling, as it did, a full



page of the London "Times," no person interested in politico-economic controversy would be able to put it aside unfinished after beginning its perusal. I think its substance can best be revealed by quite liberal quotation. He began it with an explanation of why it was that tariff reform had come so much to the front, saying that for some time past "there has been a great uneasiness among all parties and among men of the most varied opinions, a growing uneasiness as to the condition of British trade in its relation to the trade of the world," and that the sixty years which had elapsed since the adoption of free trade by England had been "filled with refutation of the prophecies made by the great tariff reformers" because Cobden and his followers "laid down doctrines of fiscal policy adapted to the world in which he lived, adapted to the world which he thought he had a right to foresee, but not adapted to the world in every respect, at all events, in which we at this time live." Cobden, he said, had looked forward to a world in which national divisions might, indeed, remain, but their emphasis largely diminished, if not wholly effaced; in which the divisions between nations would in no sense correspond with the physical and commercial divisions; in which free trade would have swept away altogether all rivalry between men of different races, of different creeds, and of different political institutions; in which the world would commercially be one without artificial barriers, and in which production would follow its natural lines, and in which international manufacture would take not a competitive, but a coöperative shape. That was Cobden's ideal. It had "elements of great nobility," but that "ideal world is not the world in which we live."

Speaking particularly of what protection has done for the United States and Germany, Mr. Balfour paid this very remarkable tribute, coming, as it does, from a lifelong British free trader:—

"I do not think it is to our credit, and I confess that when I hear criticisms,—criticisms with which I sympathize taken by themselves,—upon the American and the German policy, which has caused those great industrial nations to accompany their marvelous commercial expansion with protective duties which must have thrown a most heavy burden upon the consumer, I feel that they have a retort to which I, at least, have no reply. They may well say to us that, although they have been thus protectionist, at all events within the limits of their own country they have established permanent free trade, and that at this moment within the circuit of the German Empire and within the vast ambit of the American Commonwealth all duty, all restriction upon free trade, everything which can hamper production, everything which can limit the increase of wealth, has been abolished by their patriotism and their foresight."

After saying that no similar picture could be pointed to in Great Britain, and that it was impossible for any British free trader to assert that his country had not suffered deeply and profoundly by foreign tariffs, Mr. Balfour passed to the question of remedies. In this part of his speech he disclosed very clearly what is one of the chief objects, if not the chief object, of the agitation,—namely, to get Great Britain into a position in which she can hope to compel the negotiation of reciprocity treaties with protective tariff countries. He said he had no cure to suggest, but he thought there was a palliative. This he stated in the following passage, which, though longer than I like to quote, is so suggestive of the real spirit of the controversy that it must be cited entire, with the responses of the audience as they appear in the report of the London "Times":—

"What, in fact, we have got to deal with is a world in which the international commercial relations are regulated entirely by treaty and are governed entirely by the arrangements come to by the different nations concerned. Is it common sense that in a world which is commercially governed by treaty we, the greatest commercial nation of all, should come forward and say, 'We will endeavor to arrange treaties with you. We have nothing to give you (laughter), we have nothing to withhold from you, we throw ourselves upon your mercy and upon your consideration.' (Renewed laughter.) 'Remember, please remember, how good we are to your commerce (laughter), how we throw no impediment in its way, how we do all we can for you. And please don't forget us when you are making your next treaty.' (Renewed laughter and cheers.) I am incapable of believing that a nation which deliberately deprives itself of its power of bargaining is a nation which is likely to make very good bargains. I have been asked by friends of mine whether there really is any ground for believing that we should make better bargains if we had the freedom of negotiation which I ask you to give us. (Loud cheers.) I confess that the very question seems to me to show that the questioner lives in a world of economic phantasmagoria (laughter), with no relation whatever to the realities in which, fortunately or unfortunately, our lot is cast. Are commercial bargains different from all other bargains? Are negotiations between nations which have to deal with duties upon manufactured goods different in essence and in character from other negotiations carried on for other purposes? (Cries of 'No.') Did any man ever hear of a country going into negotiations for these other purposes which came out of these negotiations with a trace of success unless it had in the course of these negotiations something which, in case of necessity, it might withhold? (Hear, hear.) My request, therefore, to you



tonight,—the fundamental and essential request to which everything I have to say in the remainder of my speech is subsidiary and accidental,—is that the people of this country should give to the government of this country, from whatever party that government may be drawn, that freedom of negotiation of which we have been deprived, not by the force of circumstances, not by the action of over-mastering forces, not by the pressure of foreign powers, but by something which I can only describe as our own pedantry and our own self-conceit.”

How he would secure freedom of negotiation, he went on to specify, saying by the way that he did not think public opinion was ripe for the taxation of food, and that he did not personally contemplate a general tariff war by the imposition of an immense general import duty upon all foreign goods subject to reduction for consideration received, since that would involve far too great a disturbance of British habits and trade.

“But I do think that we might with advantage proceed from the other end, and if we thought we could do it without disadvantage to ourselves,—which, after all, is the guiding policy in these matters,—we might inform any foreign country which we thought was treating us with outrageous unfairness, that unless they modified their policy to our advantage we should feel ourselves compelled to take this or that step in regard to their exports to our country. (Cheers.) I do not for a moment suggest that foreign countries are animated by a desire to destroy our trade *simpliciter*. What they want to do is to improve their trade at our expense.”

Five days after Mr. Balfour spoke at Sheffield, Mr. Chamberlain made his first set speech, outlining his views in full, at Glasgow. He was greeted with an audience fully equal in size and enthusiastic sympathy to that which had listened to Mr. Balfour. I shall cite mainly his statement of the case and the specific remedies he proposed. Summed up in a single sentence, his main contention is that something must be done for British trade which has been practically stagnant for thirty years, while that of the protective tariff countries has been steadily increasing. Here are his most important statistical statements on this point:—

“We are a great manufacturing country. Now in 1872 we sent to the protected countries of Europe and to the United States of America 116,000,000 of exported manufactures. In 1882, ten years later, it fell to 88,000,000. In 1892, ten years later, it fell to 75,000,000. In 1902, last year, although the general exports had increased, the exports of manufactures had decreased again to 73,500,000. And the total result of this is that after thirty years you are sending 42,500,000 of manufactures less to the protected countries than you did thirty years ago.

In the same time the increase in the United States of America was 110,000,000 and the increase in Germany was 56,000,000. One more comparison during this period of thirty years in which our exports of manufactures have fallen 46,000,000 to foreign countries. What has happened with their exports to us? They have risen from 63,000,000 in 1872 to 149,000,000 in 1902. They have increased 86,000,000."

Mr. Chamberlain claimed that it follows from these figures that "Imperial trade is absolutely essential to our prosperity at the present time," and that if "that trade declines, or if it does not increase in proportion to our population and to the loss of trade with foreign countries, then we sink at once into a fifth-rate nation." He went on to say that trade would decline unless the necessary steps were taken to preserve it, and the only way, in his opinion, to preserve it was to put a tariff wall around the British Empire, maintaining free trade inside of it. "Have you ever considered," he said, "why it is that Canada takes so much more of the products of British manufactures than the United States of America does per head? Why does Australasia take about three times as much per head as Canada? And why does South Africa,—the white population of South Africa,—take more per head than Australasia? When you have got to the bottom of that,—and it is not difficult,—you will see the whole argument. These countries are all protective countries." His description of the way in which protection benefits a country is one that every protectionist in the world will read with surprise and delight, as confirming all his theories:—

"Now, what is the history of protection? In the first place, a tariff is imposed. There are no industries, or practically none, but only a tariff. Then, gradually, industries grow up behind the wall,—the tariff wall. In the first place, they are primary industries, the industries for which the country has natural aptitude, or for which it has some special advantage,—mineral, or other resources. Then, when those are supplied, the secondary industries spring up; first the necessities, then the luxuries, until at last all the ground is covered. Now, these countries of which I have been speaking to you are in different stages of the protective process. In America the process has been completed. She produces everything; she excludes everything. There is no trade to be done with her for a paltry six shillings per head. Canada has been protective for a long time. The protective policy has produced its natural result. The principal industries are these, and you can never get rid of them. They will be there for ever. But up to the present time the secondary industries have not been created, and there is an immense deal of trade that is still open to you that you may still retain, that you may increase. In Australasia



the industrial position of that country is still less advanced. The agricultural products of the country have been, first of all, developed; accordingly Australasia takes more than Canada. In the Cape, in South Africa, there are, practically speaking, no industries at all."

This brought Mr. Chamberlain to his proposal to the colonies, which was in substance:—

"There are many things which you do not now make, many things for which we have a great capacity of production. Leave them to us as you have left them hitherto. Do not increase your tariff walls against us, pull them down where they are unnecessary to the success of this policy to which you are committed. Let us in exchange with you have your productions in all these numberless industries which have not yet been erected. Do that because we are kinsmen without regard to your important interest, because it is good for the empire as a whole and because we have taken the first step and have set you the example. We offer you a preference. We rely on your patriotism, your affection, that we shall not be the losers thereby."

He estimated the amount of trade which the British colonies now do with England's foreign competitors at 47,000,000 pounds, and while he admitted that a great part of this is in grooves which England cannot supply, he believed that a reasonable preferential tariff would bring 26,000,000 of it to England. This, he said, would give employment to 166,000 men at thirty shillings a week, or subsistence to 830,000 persons. In order to get this preferential tariff, it would be necessary to put a tax on food, and he outlined his plan as follows:—

"I propose to put a duty of five or ten shillings a quarter on wheat. I propose to put a low duty on foreign corn, no duty at all on the corn coming from our British possessions. But I propose to put a low duty on foreign corn not exceeding two shillings a quarter. I propose to put no tax whatever on maize, partly because maize is a food of some of the very poorest people, and partly, also, because it is a raw material for the farmers, who feed their pigs on it. I propose that the corresponding tax which will have to be put on flour should give a substantial preference to the miller. And, lastly, I propose to give a substantial preference to our colonies upon colonial wines and, perhaps, upon colonial fruits. Well, those are the taxes, new taxes, or alterations of taxation which I propose as additions to your present burden."

On the question of reciprocity, "sometimes called retaliation," he said he could not deal freely with that subject then, adding:—

"I shall have other opportunities, but this I will point out to you, that in any attempt to secure reciprocity we cannot hope to be wholly

successful. Nobody, I imagine, is sanguine enough to believe that America or Germany and France and Italy and all those countries are going to drop the whole of their protective system because we ask them to do so, or even because we threaten them. What I do hope is that they will reduce their duties so that worse things may not happen to them."

In regard to duties, he suggested that an average ten per cent duty on all manufactured articles would bring to the English Exchequer at least nine million pounds a year, and that this might enable the government to reduce some existing taxes on food and other articles which press most heavily upon different classes of the community.

In reply to Messrs. Balfour and Chamberlain, a great mass of argument and literature has been poured forth in English newspapers and reviews and in speeches by Lord Rosebery, Mr. Asquith, and others. I have read the greater part of this and find that the substance of it all is set forth with clearness and accuracy in the speech of Mr. Asquith, made to his constituents at Cinderford, on October eighth. It amounts, in the last analysis, to a general denial of both the facts and the deductions of the anti-free trade case. A few citations will suffice to give a correct idea of what may be called the case for the defence. In answer to Mr. Chamberlain's assertion that British trade had been practically stagnant for thirty years, Mr. Asquith said that Mr. Chamberlain made an unpardonable error, in the first place, in taking the year 1872 as a basis of comparison, since it was an abnormal year for British exports; that if he had taken 1870, two years before, or 1876, four years after, instead of finding only a growth of twenty or thirty millions, he would have found a growth of eighty-four millions in exports; and that if he had taken the exports of 1900 at the prices of 1872, he would have found an increase of one hundred and seventy millions. Then, too, Mr. Chamberlain had ignored the home trade, a much more important factor than foreign trade, since the latter employs only one fifth or one sixth of the whole labor of the country. Furthermore, Mr. Chamberlain separated exports from imports in foreign trade, whereas if he had taken the whole of that trade together, it would have shown an annual average of over one hundred millions in excess of his statement. He had also omitted the services of England in the carrying trade of the world, which amounts to an annual earning of ninety millions a year, nearly doubling the tonnage of British oversea shipping since 1870, whereas the shipping tonnage of the United States had fallen off between forty and fifty per cent during the same period. Finally, he had omitted to call attention to the general condition of the country during the period, which Mr. Asquith summed up as follows:—



“During that period the amount assessed to the income tax has doubled; the interest upon our foreign investments has more than doubled, the deposits in our savings banks have multiplied two and three fold; the bankers’ cheques cleared, taking the annual average, have risen in amount from five hundred and thirty millions to over eight hundred millions sterling; and last, but not least, the wages of the working classes have risen, measured not merely in terms of money, though there has been a considerable rise in our money wages, but much more measured in their real terms, in the terms of that which money can buy. As the Board of Trade has told us, one hundred shillings buys as much as one hundred and forty shillings twenty years ago.”

In regard to Mr. Chamberlain’s assertion that preferential tariffs for the colonies were essential to the maintenance of the unity of the empire, Mr. Asquith pronounced that a “calumny on the colonies and a slur on the empire,” and said that, in his opinion, if the colonies had not been allowed complete fiscal autonomy at home, the empire would not have kept together so long as it has. In regard to Mr. Chamberlain’s contention that a higher tariff in the colonies on foreign than on British goods would secure for England twenty-six millions of trade which now goes to other countries, Mr. Asquith said:—

“One trifling error which Mr. Chamberlain did not observe is this, that out of the twenty-six millions no less than ten millions is trade carried on between Great Britain and Canada, which leaves you only sixteen millions of possible gain in trade. Is there any one, particularly with the experience we have had of Canadian preference, who supposes there is the remotest chance of diverting any substantial share of that sixteen millions to this country, particularly as it is as certain as that the sun will rise tomorrow that as soon as we do that foreign nations will begin reprisals on us and do so more injuriously than we can possibly do to them?”

On the question of taxing food and the operation of Mr. Chamberlain’s proposals in that direction, Mr. Asquith said:—

“In the first place, the object being to make the empire self-supporting, it appears to me, at any rate, to be an assumption of the most extravagant kind that a duty of seven per cent on corn and five per cent on meat would make any substantial diversion in the first source of supply. When you think of Argentina, the United States of America, and the other countries competing with our colonies in supplying us with food, it is ridiculous to suppose that a duty of two shillings on corn is going to turn the whole wheat supply of the world into the, at present, undeveloped fields of Canada. I warn you of this. This would only be the

first step, and it is a step which would operate so slowly and so partially that the demand would become irresistible. Your five per cent would become seven per cent and your ten per cent twenty per cent before you had time to turn round. Do not let any one be misled about this talk of what duty you are to put upon corn and wheat. Protection is an inclined plane. Once you put your foot on it there is no halting place until you get to the bottom.

“A tax upon foreign food will not do South Africa a ha’porth of good, and for the simple reason that South Africa does not export from her shores and import into this country any food whatever. If, as Mr. Chamberlain says, we must bind the colonies to us by ties of material interest and if we do not the whole thing will break up, what tie of material interest have you got with South Africa by the fact that you give a preference to Canadian wheat or Australian mutton? If South Africa does not send you wheat or mutton, she will want a preference for the thing which she does send you, and that is wool, the raw material for one of the greatest of our industries. I could go round the empire and show you that unless you give preferences to raw material as well as to food it is absolutely impossible to put even upon its legs a scheme of logical and consistent preferences.”

With regard to Mr. Chamberlain’s proposed ten per cent duty on manufactures, Mr. Asquith said:—

“I should very much like to know how you are going to raise nine millions by a tax on foreign manufactures unless you treat as manufactures for the purpose of the tax articles like paper, leather, cement, and many forms of unwrought iron, which are just as much the raw materials of industries as iron ore or raw woods. All roads converge to the same point. You cannot have retaliation effectively as against your principal foreign competitors without ultimately taxing raw materials and food.”

So far as retaliation itself was concerned, Mr. Asquith said of that in the opening passage of his speech: “If we oppose retaliation as a policy it is because we believe that experience shows that in practice it is fatal as a weapon of offence, and in the vast majority of cases it is infinitely more mischievous to those who use it than to those against whom it is directed.”

Perhaps the most notable portion of Mr. Asquith’s speech was this at the close:—

“That there are disquieting features in our industrial as in our social conditions no honest observer, certainly no member of the party of progress, will be found to deny. We have seen industries in which we ought to have maintained our supremacy falling behind, and in some



cases entirely taken away from us by our competitors. Defective knowledge, inferior processes, lack of flexibility or versatility, a stubborn industrial conservatism, these are the real enemies of British trade, and have done us infinitely more harm than all the tariffs and all the dumping syndicates that were ever created."

The crucial point in Mr. Chamberlain's tariff scheme, considered on its economic side, lies in the assumption that all the British colonies would prefer a trade union of the kind he proposes to any other conceivable arrangement. Whether they would or not, is a much disputed point. I have watched for reflections of public sentiment upon the question in Canada, for Canada will decide it for all the colonies. While the press as a whole is not unfriendly to the scheme, it is extremely cautious about committing itself to it unequivocally. The general attitude is a waiting one, with an undercurrent of somewhat eager willingness to approve in case it shall be shown that Canada will benefit by the arrangement. If a tariff wall were to be put around Canada, there can be little doubt that within a comparatively short period of years her capacity to produce wheat would be so stimulated as to enable her to supply England with the eighty per cent of present wheat imports which she makes from foreign countries. There is a vast productive area in the British north-west awaiting development, and a tax on foreign wheat which should shut American wheat out of the British market, while giving a preference to Canadian wheat, would unquestionably lead to such development, and at a rapid rate of speed. In other important articles, like live cattle and dead meats, the proportion of foreign imports into Great Britain is at present equally high. It might be possible under the contemplated tariff encouragement to expand the production of Australia and New Zealand sufficiently to enable Great Britain to do with considerably less American beef than it has to buy now. But unless a larger Canadian production could also be counted on, enough would still have to be purchased abroad to make the beef tariff felt severely by the British public.

A comparison of Canadian trade with the United States and with the British possessions throws much light on what Canada's attitude may become in the future. Out of the total two hundred and six million dollars imports for the year 1902, the British Empire contributed fifty-four million dollars, or only twenty-six per cent, while this country contributed one hundred and twenty-nine million, eight hundred thousand dollars, or sixty-three per cent. Although since 1897 British imports have had the advantage of a preferential tariff rate, they form less than a fourth against a proportion of nearly two thirds for the imports from the United States. A very large section of the American trade, moreover,

consists of articles like Indian corn, coal, and mineral oil, which Great Britain could not supply under any conditions. It is just here that the great peril to the Chamberlain scheme lies, namely, in a reciprocity arrangement between Canada and the United States which should lower the duties on American products. This would be of immensely more advantage to the Canadian consumer than any further concessions that might be made in the commerce with Great Britain. On the question of the export trade there is more ground for dispute. Canadian exports to the British Empire were valued at one hundred and twenty-nine million dollars in 1902, as against exports of seventy-one million dollars to the United States. To risk a partial loss of the latter for the sake of a larger profit in the former might not seem bad policy. But against this must be set the great possibilities of expansion in the American market for Canadian products were a treaty of reciprocity effected. It would certainly lead at once to a larger demand upon the output of the Canadian mines; it would allow Canadian farmers to compete with the American shippers of grain at many points which could be reached as easily by the Canadian as by the American railroads, and what is much more of an object still, it would throw into Canada's hands a very large share of the lucrative lumber trade of the northern frontier which under our present tariff is confined chiefly to American interests. All things considered, should Canada be given the choice of membership in the grand British customs union or a special commercial treaty with this country, there seems excellent reason to believe that it would choose the second alternative. If that should be the case, the whole Chamberlain scheme would fall to the ground. There is in this situation, therefore, a very powerful argument in favor of reciprocity treaties between the United States and other countries, and above all, with Canada. Such a treaty with Canada was once not far from accomplishment; it failed only because this country was lukewarm toward the project. Its revival now in the new shape of a counterstroke to the blow that is being aimed at our foreign commerce is certainly a subject well worth some serious thought on the part of our legislators at Washington, and there is little doubt that it will command this in the near future.

















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